

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Mideast cul-de-sac

Prospects for a peace negotiation in the Middle East seem to be steadily diminishing. Despite a vigorous and commendable early effort to get the diplomatic momentum going again, the Carter administration now appears to be in a cul-de-sac. It is groping for a way out but without any visible success. President Carter has in effect boxed himself into an untenable position: He has explicitly stated what kind of peace settlement he thinks desirable — one that includes a "homeland" for the Palestinians — but, for domestic political reasons, he is unwilling to exert the pressures needed to persuade the disputants, notably Israel, to accept a compromise. The Arabs, meanwhile, grow increasingly skeptical that they can rely on the United States to produce a settlement.

The fact is that all past as well as new Jewish settlements set up in the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip are unlawful under the 1949 Geneva Conventions, which state that an occupying power shall not transfer its own civilian population into occupied territories. Israel is acting as if these were not occupied lands. Yet, in an obvious contradiction, it is a signatory to UN Resolution 242 which calls for Israeli withdrawal from territories "occupied" in the 1967 war. It is not hard to see why the Arabs believe Israel is embarked on a program of expansion.

Israel appears to be giving them every provocation for such an action. In fact, Israel alone is on the diplomatic offensive these days with a "step-by-step diplomacy" of its own. Prime Minister Menachem Begin knows what he wants and he is proceeding to secure it. In total disregard of what the American President or anyone else thinks, he is permitting Jewish settlement of the West Bank. Israeli Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon has gone so far as to unveil a sweeping plan for the development of a 400-mile stretch from the Golan

Heights in the north to Sharm el Sheikh at the southern end of Sinai. The Jewish settlements to put there, he says, will form "security belts" that will allow Israel to offer "daring solutions" to a Middle East peace.

The Sharon plan is not yet taken seriously but the suspicion grows that the Begin government does intend to annex the West Bank as historical right. Certainly its present course of action is a dangerous one that complicates the quest for a reasonable solution of the Palestinian question. It is a total violation of international law and suggests that Israel is prepared to defy the UN no matter what.

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The next stage of diplomacy shifts to meetings with foreign ministers in Washington. In anticipation of these talks President Carter has issued a new policy stating that the Palestinians must be involved at a Geneva conference. The statement, designed apparently to put pressure on both Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization to come up with something new, is a welcome step. But it looks as if it will take a lot more than this if a Geneva conference is to get off the ground.

Maneuvering around Mao

On one thing at least the Chinese seem to have one up on their ostracized Soviet cousins. They are moving faster to denounce Mao than did the Russians to desecrate Stalin after that dictator's passing in 1958. It was not until 1958, it will be recalled, that Nikita Khrushchev gave the secret speech which launched the process of de-Stalinization.

It is unlikely the new leaders in Peking will tarnish their revolutionary hero to the extent the Russians did theirs. But on the first anniversary of Mao's death the Chinese people already are being told that Mao's directives were sometimes contradictory and must be taken in the proper context. The warning apparently is intended to explain the rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping and others (after Mao

ordered them purged) and to provide doctrinal justification for more pragmatic internal policies.

In this context, the recent visit to Peking of President Tito of Yugoslavia also is intriguing. Mao would never acknowledge Yugoslavs as a "socialist" country. But the new Chinese leaders not only gave Tito a warm welcome but are taking a conspicuous interest in Yugoslavia's market-style economics and fruitful cooperation with the West.

What this all means for China's future can only be surmised. But it looks as if Mao may be conveniently reinterpreted to suit the demands of the post-Mao era. It is not a revision of the West would regret.

Callaghan's uneasy victory

British Prime Minister James Callaghan's blunt talk to the labor unions has paid off. At its Blackpool conference, the Trades Union Congress has agreed — and by a big majority — to seek no more than one wage settlement in any 12-month period and to return to free collective bargaining between the unions and industry. That is less than the kind of formal agreement on pay restraint which has existed between the TUC leaders and the government for the past two years. But, it nonetheless should help hold the lid on inflation and enable Britain to continue working its way out of its severe economic problems.

The road ahead is not yet clear for Mr. Callaghan, however. It now remains to be seen how the British labor rank-and-file react to the decision reached at Blackpool. After two years of wage restraint workers in a wide range of industries — shipbuilding, coal mining, transport, engineering — are in a militant mood, returning to make up, at least some of the loss in their real earnings. Hence, the battle now shifts to the shop stewards.

That is only synonymous with the desire of



Racial quotas: who loses?

The U.S. Supreme Court will hear arguments this fall in a controversial "reverse discrimination" case which could dramatically alter the shape of civil-rights enforcement in the United States for decades to come. The suit brought by Allan Bakke, a white would-be medical student, against the University of California Medical School raises complex legal, social, and emotional questions for a nation committed to setting a high standard of human rights.

The Bakke case forces the high court — and all Americans — to consider whether racial quota in admitting minority students to universities, hiring and promotion practices, or virtually any other daily activity does not, in effect, amount to "reverse discrimination" against whites. Many argue that whites are thereby denied the protection of equal treatment under the law, a right guaranteed by the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

The term racial "quotas" evokes an emotional response. In some circles, much as "busking" did in recent years, forcing some federal officials to opt for "goals" as a more flexible alternative. Regardless of the term used, the basic issue itself has sharply divided even many traditional backers of civil rights, who remain strongly committed to progress for blacks and other minorities but who also feel that race alone is a poor criterion for government agencies, business firms, or universities to use in making decisions.

But the rights of Allan Bakke must also be considered. Sixteen of the 100 admission slots at the medical school he sought to attend went to minority students who, he argues, were less qualified than he. Should he be penalized thus? Should whites, even for a temporary interim transition period, be forced to take a back seat to minorities?

For many years, it should be remembered, the back seat was reserved for blacks.

These are heartening signs and it is to be hoped that British workers will see the wisdom of continued tough action.

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Arab money: big voice in Mideast talks

By Harry B. Elix
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Following President Carter's talks here with Arab and Israeli leaders is the potential threat of what oil-rich Arab states might do with their oil and money if Middle East peace talks fail.

A related issue — how to help the world's poor nations sustain their growing oil payment debts — finds center stage at this week's annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) here.

Thus, within a few crowded days, Middle East diplomacy, international finance, and the politics of oil are converging on Washington, with the stakes high for all parties concerned.

Analysts unravel the threads of this package as follows:

• Dependence of almost every industrial nation — with the partial exception of the Netherlands, Norway, and Britain — on Arab oil remains substantial. In the case of the United States, that dependence is growing. More than 40 percent of oil imported by the U.S. comes from Arab wells, up from 22 percent in 1973.

• The Arab states, notably Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates, could throw the world's financial system into turmoil if Arab governments suddenly withdrew some of the billions of dollars they have deposited in Western banks.

• Debt burdens among developing nations differ, but the aggregate is growing, with some poor countries in danger of default unless their debts can be rescheduled.

To deflect additional pressure away from private banks, which hold the bulk of poor nation indebtedness, the IMF is putting into place a new \$10 billion lending facility, called the "Willowtree Facility," after its innovator, H. Johannes Witteveen, managing director of the IMF. *Please turn to Page 12

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NEWS

FOCUS

Farmers trade tractors for horses

By Richard J. Cattani

Waverly, Iowa
Draft horses are plowing their way back onto the U.S. agricultural scene.

At Andy Mast's harness shop in the Amish settlement at Hazelton, Iowa, work-horse gear is selling so briskly that the proprietor and his three helpers are struggling to keep up with the demand. Orders for "heavy horse" harness leather, collars, traces, bits, and bridles are arriving from as far away as Oregon and Maine.

"The interest in draft horses now is really surging," says the reserved Amish craftsman whose business has increased by more than half during the past five years.

The Amish have played a unique role in the revival of work horses, according to Maurice Telleen of Waverly, editor of *The Draft Horse Journal*. While the rest of American farmers were selling off "hayburners" and buying tractors after World War II, the Amish settlers kept their draft and driving teams working. Today the energy crisis, higher fuel costs, and interest in organic farming have combined to

reawaken interest in original horsepower.

Of the estimated 8.5 million horses in the U.S., about one-fourth are farm horses. This total is down from 14 million horses in 1940, when almost all were work horses. But it reflects a comeback from the horse population of 3.2 million in 1950, year of the last U.S.D.A. horse census.

Not only are there more horses today, but also the quality of the stock is much improved. In 1968 the 14 registered breeds numbered 139,000. This reached 212,000 by 1975. Among the heavy breeds, 1,750 Belgians were registered last year compared with 400 a few years ago. The number of Percherons registered last year was up 25 percent.

In Nebraska's sand-hill country, farmer Buck Buckles is taking in another 700 tons of hay this summer by working 20 horses daily on his vast 70,000-acre ranch. In northwest Iowa, farmers Mike Jussen and Arnold Hockett grow hay and plant corn with their teams of Belgians and Percherons, reserving other chores for tractors. Draft horses today are widely used in Wisconsin for

dairy herd chores, and in Ontario, Canada, to cultivate turnips.

In Iowa's Hazelton Amish settlement of some 150 families, each household keeps about six horses to work an average farm of 120 acres and to drive their buggies — a picture reflected in Amish settlements in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana.

In New England and the mid-Atlantic region, smaller and hilly farms have seemed best suited for draft horse use.

Not all of today's work-horse population is working. Many wealthy farmers keep them as a hobby, or breed them for profit.

But backers of hayburners say they are more efficient than tractors for many purposes. The annual feed costs of \$1,000 a head is largely offset by savings in gasoline or diesel fuel, by the value of hay and seed that animals help to cultivate, the manure that is recovered for fertilizer, and the \$400-\$500 per head income that colts command at auctions.

Although tractor owners have better tax write-off terms, there is little tax reward for the economies of draft horses, according to their owners. A good team can put to a dozen years of work in the fields and equipment often lasts for decades — far longer than the expensive powered equipment on which modern farm credit and tax systems are geared.

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CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

As the struggle between black nationalists and white Afrikaners intensifies, other South Africans, white and nonwhite, remain uninvolved — but not unaffected.

See Page 16

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The Communists' plan for France

Program covers all phases of life

By Philip W. Whitecomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris Until the sudden revolt of the Left-Radical Party on Sept. 14, the clearest clue to the true nature of the Communist struggle to gain absolute control of the French economy had been a series of advertisements published on Sept. 6 and 7.

The advertisements urged everyone to study the 6 million-copy special edition of *Humanité*, the Communist daily. The publication contained the official version of the Communist plan for transferring full control of the economy to the leaders of the Communist-Socialist Radical coalition.

The advertisements were convincingly worded. But they were not issued by the Communists.

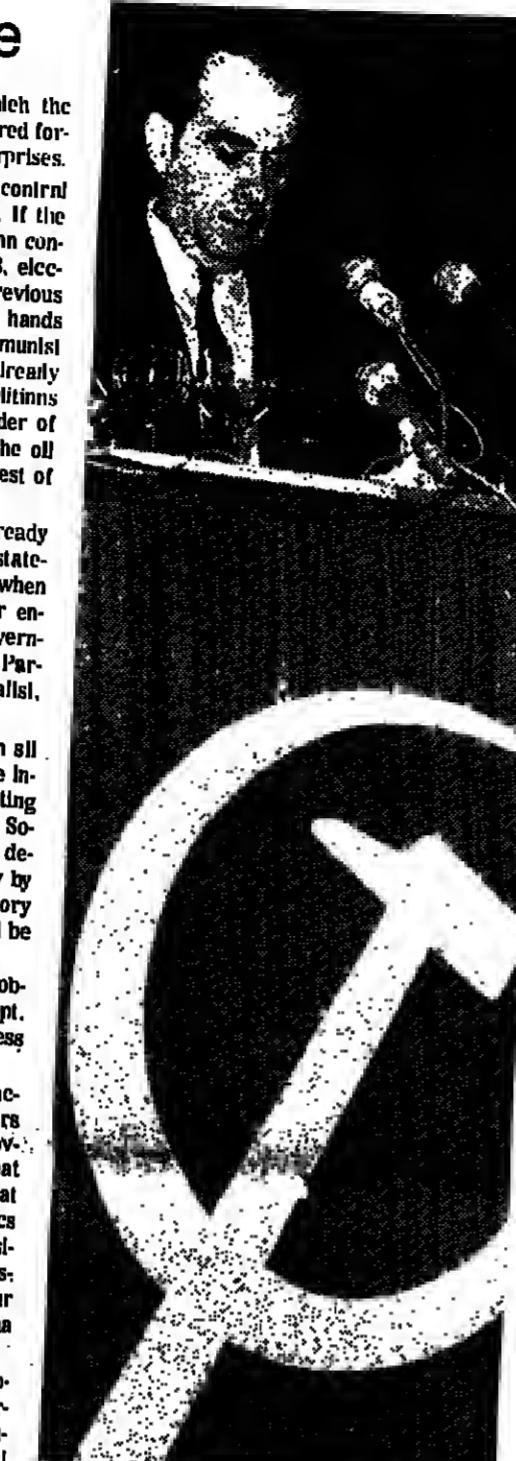
On the contrary, they were written, signed, and paid for by one of the strongest of the French anti-Communist organizations, registered as a public service enterprise.

Figures from previous elections, confirmed by current opinion polls, do in fact appear to prove that one sector of French voters, about 20 percent, will have studied the special issue of *Humanité* and been totally convinced. However, it is also likely that another 20 percent of the voters on reading the *Humanité* plan would be shocked into voting against it.

The original basis of the plan, known as the Common Program of 1972 with the slogan "Change the life of France and live better," was jointly agreed on by the leaders of the Communist, Socialist, and Left-Radical parties. Its 71 sections covered every phase of life from salaries and pensions through television and hospitals, schools to national control of insurance and all taxes.

The French railways had been nationalized under the Popular Front between the wars, and Charles de Gaulle, with the head of the French Communist Party as his first vice-president, had added the major banks, coal, electricity, gas and the Renault automobile company. The net result today is that nationalized enterprises employ 1.5 million persons, or 7 percent of all the workers of France. These enterprises create about 10 percent of the gross national product and contribute at least 25 percent of the new industrial investment each year, or about \$12 billion.

But because the government itself, with the sole power to name the responsible heads of all nationalized enterprises, is still strongly on the side of capitalism and free enterprise, the nationalizations are run very much as though they were private companies. However, they receive enormous sums as subsidies, loans, and investments. The 1977 total was \$3.8 billion.



Handphoto
Communist leader Georges Marchais

Do Communists hope to lose?

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

inn, and an additional \$1.7 billion which the government paid during the year to retire former employees of two nationalized enterprises.

The 1972 plan also included national control of nine more of the largest enterprises. If the Communist-Socialist-Radical coalition won control of the Assembly in the March 1978 elections, absolute control of these and all previous nationalizations would be placed in the hands of party members. This gave the Communist leaders the idea of adding in the firms already listed in the Common Program. The additions were to be Citroën-Peugeot, the remainder of the aviation industry, the remainder of the oil industry, the steel industry, and all the rest of the banks and financial houses.

The original Common Program had already contained a sleeper in the form of the state (Chapter Two, Paragraph 7) that "when the workers express the desire that their enterprise should be nationalized, the government can propose such nationalization to Parliament" — which, being Communist-Socialist, would presumably agree automatically.

Some other points, apparently about 70 in all though mostly relatively unimportant, were included in the Communist demand for updating the 1972 plan. François Mitterrand for the Socialists attempted to count most of the demands by evasive maneuvers and especially by postponement until the parliamentary victory had been gained, "when the problems could be seen more clearly."

But the tiny Left-Radical Party, led by Robert Fabre, member of the Assembly, on Sept. 14 broke off discussion of the updating demanded by the Communists.

The Left-Radicals are one of the two factions of the old Radical Party, for many years a dominant factor in French politics and government. The other faction is led, to the great distress of the more orthodox rightists, by that lone ranger of French policies, Jésus-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, who remains loyal to President Giscard d'Estaing though definitely hostile to the head of the largest of the other four rightist groups, the Chiracian Union for the Republic (U.R.P.).

But the Left-Radicals, and in particular Robert Fabre, are absolutely solid for free enterprise. The obvious intention of the Communists, led by Georges Marchais, to gain total control of the economy was the final straw.

In a table of proposed income and expense the Communists specifically proposed to add about \$17 billion a year to the wages paid in France, \$2 billion to the old-age pensions, and \$4 billion to the family allocations, indicating that this extra \$29 billion could be found in the profits of the new nationalizations, and in "cutting out waste." The official profits of all the

French Communist Party, under pressure from the Soviet Union, moving the wing alliance toward defeat in next March elections?

Stimulated by the private comments of French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing himself, political analysis has begun to ask a question which many would not have asked just a few months ago:

Is the French Communist Party, under pressure from the Soviet Union, moving the wing alliance toward defeat in next March elections?

Two years later an even wider shock occurred in December 1975. Spain ceded the Western Sahara to Mauritania and Morocco, thus psychologically turning the Canaries into a lonely Spanish outpost. The islanders soon realized they were strategically vital amid Africa's post-Angola destabilization and growing Sino-NATO rivalries.

The islands, spread across 2,807 square miles, were formed years ago from spontaneous volcanic eruptions.

The signs of the eruptions are still there, in

Tenerife, the main port, the 12,000-foot high Teide Peak's volcano bubbles and boils, but underground. It looks alarming, but there is no serious concern.

Las Palmas's Bandama crater is 1,100 yards

in diameter and 900 feet deep but it, too, is ex-

hilarating.

Exports to Sahara

But many of the Canaries' 1.5 million residents were especially aghast that the "Guards" the derogatory Canaries term for Separatist

President reportedly argued that the Soviet Union wants to see the current center-right remain in power.

Five independent observers believe that

Communists are actively trying to lose elections, which could possibly produce a first real government of the Left since the Popular Front of 1936. But at a private meeting with a few French journalists recently, President reportedly argued that the Soviet Union wants to see the current center-right remain in power.

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United States

Koch: frugality for New York

Winning Democratic primary is tantamount to winning November election

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York's probable next mayor is a frugal, hard-working bachelor who has made it abundantly plain that he expects the city's municipal workers to be equally frugal and hard-working.

In selecting Congressman Edward I. Koch as the Democratic nominee in the November mayoral election, voters brushed aside the sort of heavy union opposition that once made or broke mayoral candidates here.

Instead, a comfortable majority of Democrats opted for the man whose overriding campaign theme has been the need for self-restraint, efficiency, and austerity in this financially strapped metropolis. In a heavily Democratic city like New York, winning the Democratic primary is tantamount to eventual election, barring a major political upset.

At the same time, the Democratic voters thumbed their noses at the experts and chose a little-known young woman as their candidate for another of the three top city jobs, council president. Assuming she is elected in November, state Sen. Carol Bellamy will become the first woman to hold city-wide office here.

The selection of Miss ("I'm a child of the '60s") Bellamy over incumbent Paul O'Dwyer, coupled with Congresswoman Bella Abzug's defeat in the Sept. 1 mayoral primary, seems to confirm voters' desire for new faces to lift the city out of its turmoil and decay rather than any sudden surge of feminism. Miss Bellamy, explained one New Yorker, "is what people would like Bella Abzug to be."

The three-stage mayoral race is not yet over.

After coming in first in the Sept. 1 Democratic primary against six opponents and all predictions, Mr. Koch has beaten New York Secretary of State Mario Cuomo convincingly in the Sept. 18 run-off. But Mr. Cuomo will likely remain on the November ballot as the Liberal Party nominee.

The slim hopes of the Republican nominee, State Sen. Roy Goodman, hinge on Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Koch splitting the Democratic-Liberal vote between them. But the solid and unspectacular Mr. Goodman is likely to lose rightists' votes to the fast-talking and flamboyant Conservative Party nominee, former radio talk show host Barry Farber.

Mr. Cuomo's showing in November now appears to rest largely on whether Gov. Hugh Carey, who launched him into the campaign to scuttle Mayor Abraham Beame's re-election, stays vigorously publicly with him. Since the Mayor lost out in the primary, the Governor has stepped back from active pro-Cuomo campaigning and started talking instead in terms of "conciliation."

In effect, the Governor already has "won." He has skillfully protected his political flanks for his own re-election next year whether his old congressional chum "Ed" Koch or "my friend Mario" ends up in City Hall.

Whoever ends up commanding from Gracie Mansion to City Hall will face staggering problems and a need to unite citizens behind the hard task of tackling them.

An early setback in this regard was the clear - and for New York unusual - ethnic polarization displayed in the run-off voting. White Jews backed Mr. Koch by more than 3 to 1, similar ratio of Catholics rallied behind the Italian-American Mr. Cuomo. But Jewish voters turned out in greater numbers, and Mr. Koch also had an edge among Hispanic



By a staff photographer
Edward Koch seen as New York's next mayor

voters and a slight edge among black voters.

The city's financial travails, too, were underlined last week with reports that a long-awaited effort to get the city back into the public credit market for the first time since 1975, had been further delayed. The new snag is the need for additional note guarantees that require state legislation.

At present, the city, including its Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) has \$12.8 billion in debts - almost as great as its \$13.8 billion budget. The budget itself has grown a whopping 15 percent over the past 10 years from \$5.3 billion in 1967-68.

According to the Citizens Budget Commission, welfare takes the largest slice of the city's budget funds - a cool \$3 billion, a good part of which is reimbursed by federal and state governments. Welfare costs have soared by 230 percent in 10 years.

Just a question of finance

By 1985 jets won't wake up the neighbors

By Lucia Mount
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington That piercing roar of overhead jets that interrupts many a conversation and TV program - and sometimes sound asleep - scheduled to be significantly muted over the next eight years.

The switchover to quieter aircraft engines by 1985, ordered by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), is expected to cost between \$4 billion and \$8 billion. Under legislation about to be introduced on Capitol Hill, airline passengers would pick up much of the tab, but apparently without noticing the dent in their wallets.

A widely supported bill sponsored by Rep. Glenn M. Anderson (D) of California, introduced by his House aviation subcommittee Sept. 20 would help airlines fund the change to quieter engines through a 2 percent surcharge on passenger tickets. But most travelers would not notice the increase because the proposal calls for redirecting part of the 8 percent federal tax on airline tickets now collected, rather than increasing it.

Almost 80 percent of all commercial planes now flying in the United States do not yet meet

airplane noise standards. The safety agency has given older planes until 1985 to quiet down by soundproofing or be replaced by less-noisy models. But the problem of meeting such noise standards have been more one of money than technology.

The Anderson bill's clear emphasis is on helping airlines buy new technology aircraft. The proposed surcharge could pay as much as 5 percent of the anticipated cost.

But some legislators, such as Rep. M. G. (Gene) Snyder (R) of Kentucky, have called the legislation a "jobs bill" and a "ripoff" on grounds that many of the planes probably would have to be replaced by 1985 or, thereabouts anyway.

Airport operators such as James T. Murphy, director of FAA's metropolitan Washington office, generally are pleased with the Anderson bill and see it as a sign of help at a time when they most need it.

Markay Mayo, director of environmental programs at the Airport Operators Council International, says he thinks airport officials would be hit with fewer suits and have stronger grounds for defenses with the new legislation. "It's in matters of safety for the best."

One important part of the House bill is a dollar provision to help local communities make

the bottom line is that the plus somehow must be paid, usually in the form of higher prices. Recently, ACA calculated the amount written off as bad debts by credit grantors on tax returns to be \$30 a year for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

Debts don't faze most Americans

By Lucia Mount
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington Budget Director Bert Lance is not the only American who grapples with personal credit problems.

In this credit age, U.S. consumers owe an estimated \$200 billion on the cars they drive, the furniture they sit on, and the television sets they watch.

And the problem is that they aren't paying off these bills the way they used to. Each year tens of thousands of Americans go bankrupt. Many others falsify their identification or move and leave no forwarding address. Some simply forget to pay their bills.

In the last five years the number of bad checks circulating in the United States has doubled, according to Federal Reserve figures. Grocery stores, which now cash more checks than banks do, lost \$83 million in bad checks last year, according to a U.S. Department of Commerce survey.

The situation has reached the point where hospitals, utilities, retailers, and other businesses absorb an estimated \$1 billion in losses from bad checks and credit-card fraud every year.

Getting people to pay up is getting tougher. The American Collectors Association (ACA), whose member groups handle only the most difficult cases, reports that the rate of recovery declines every year. Currently they are able to collect from only 27 percent of those whose accounts they are given.

John W. Johnson, ACA executive vice-president, says that the recovery rate was closer to twice that figure when he joined the association two decades ago. In Mr. Johnson's view the reluctance to pay up is directly attributable to a "slow deterioration of morals" and a "declining sense of personal responsibility."

"Real credit cheats are few and far between," insists Robert Gibson, president of the National Foundation for Consumer Credit.

Credit grantors are tightening up on their rules as a result of the collection problem. Many professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, now request cash from their clients, and many hotels now insist on a credit card or cash in full before a guest ever lays his head on a hotel pillow.

Many more who offer credit are turning over the collection chores to private agencies. Officials in Memphis, Tenn., and Buffalo, New York, have used such agencies to collect traffic fines, and Jackson, Miss., officials have done the same with city sewer and water bills.

Even the U.S. Office of Education, which has its own collection staff of 100 people, faces a growing default rate on student loans, now requesting bidders who will help collect the more than \$400 million in bad debts run up under the federally-insured student loan program.

Passenger and future legislation protection for borrowers, however, makes the job of persuading people to pay their bills increasingly difficult, according to those in the collecting business.

The new Fair Debt Collection Practices Act for instance, which President Carter will sign in the Rose Garden Sept. 20, outlaws threats, harassment, and false representation by collection agencies. While ACA supports the legislation, Mr. Johnson, the ACA vice-president, says the organization would have welcomed a balancing clause to protect the industry against verbal and physical abuse by consumers.

The bottom line is that the plus somehow must be paid, usually in the form of higher prices. Recently, ACA calculated the amount written off as bad debts by credit grantors on tax returns to be \$30 a year for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

United States

'Amazing that poor have not erupted,' says Mrs. Martin Luther King

By Gary Thatcher
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor



For Coretta King: a UN job

Failure to reckon with unemployment in the U.S. not only tarnishes this nation's image abroad, but also threatens domestic stability, she adds. "It's simply amazing that the poor and disadvantaged of this nation have not already erupted," Mrs. King says.

Coretta King is echoing what a number of black leaders have been arguing - that even though most of the obvious forms of segregation in the U.S. have vanished, blacks still are not participating fully in the American economic system.

Blacks and the poor were discouraged and relatively quiescent during the past eight years of Republican leadership. She says, "Black people and poor people suffered a lot under Mr. Nixon."

Now with a Southern Democrat in the White House, Mrs. King predicts a rebirth of the civil rights activism of earlier years. In 1977, however, unemployment has replaced segregation as the targeted social ill.

She draws parallels between the push for full employment (through passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced

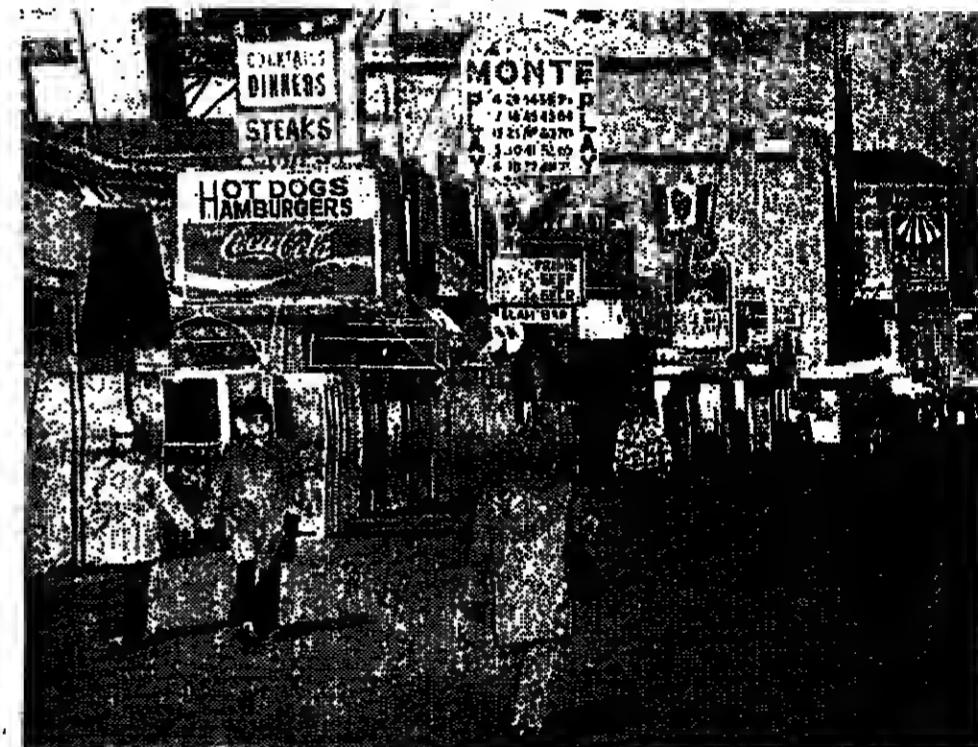
Growth Act) and the drive for an end to segregation.

First: the formation of a national organization in the 1960s - the Southern Christian Leadership Conference - headed by her late husband. Now to the 1970s, it is the National Committee for Full Employment, which she chairs.

Next: the systematic exertion of political pressure. In the 1960s, heavily black districts were chosen for voter registration drives. These campaigns were aimed at increasing the number of black elected officials. Now, black leaders as well as labor unions are targeting districts with constituencies considered more than 40 percent either black or liberal in order to elect congressmen who will support full employment legislation.

Finally, there is the possibility of "demagogic, marches, economic sanctions, civil disobedience" - but only "as a last resort," Mrs. King adds.

"I hope it won't come to that," she says. "But I think there are still people who don't understand the power of people and numbers."



Along the Boardwalk, Atlantic City, N.J.
By Barth J. Mikkenberg, staff photographer
Before the casinos arrive, wheeling-dealing begins

Atlantic City becomes real-life Monopoly board

By Ward Morehouse III
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Alantic City
"It's playing a real-life game of Monopoly."

With words, William Eames, managing director of the Greater Atlantic City Chamber of Commerce, captures the essence of the agitated wheeling and dealing in the city as it prepares for the debut as early as next March of gambling casinos.

Already, some of the big winners - and early losers - from the construction of between one and two dozen casinos are emerging.

Real estate agents, lendowers, hotel conglomerates, lawyers, and the airlines have benefited or expect to benefit from Atlantic City's legalized gambling. The early losers are this resort city's small businessmen, who have seen their rents skyrocket in recent months.

And the profits landowners have reaped and expect to reap might astonish the most adept Monopoly players.

For instance, the Ambassador Hotel at 2831 Boardwalk was purchased by a lawyer, a car dealer, and other Atlantic City residents for some \$800,000 in July, 1978. The owners of the hotel are now asking \$1 million for the property, according to Elias Naame, one of the hotel's owners and an attorney for the Guarantee Bank in Atlantic City.

Playboy Enterprises, Inc., of Chicago appears to be another early winner. Included in the sale of a parcel of land for new Playboy hotel are access rights by direct passengerway to Atlantic City's convention hall and rights to park beneath the hall, according to the Chamber of Commerce. The special concessions were inducements to get the connaîtural to build a 664-room hotel and casino complex.

Although most of those interviewed felt that state officials will keep organized crime from even indirect ownership of casinos, at least one local citizen says there is no way to keep criminal elements from infiltrating Atlantic City businesses.

"Organized crime is going to take a strong hold on the small businesses and I don't think the state or the city can do a thing about it," radio personality Stu Sack told the Monitor.

Small businesses such as T-shirt shops, candy stores, and restaurants already feel the economic pinch of rent increases.

"Organized crime is going to take a strong hold on the small businesses and I don't think the state or the city can do a thing about it," radio personality Stu Sack told the Monitor.

Academy of Sciences, who works with the Committee on Radio Frequencies (the relevant research committee), says the transmissions may be entirely legal if they violate no explicit prohibition. Nevertheless, he notes that American radio astronomers would have sympathy for the Canadians.

Radioastronomer Frank Drake of Cornell University agrees. He says there is great concern to preserve frequency bands for astronomy in spite of increasing competition, from other radioastronomers who would be users.

In general, Dr. Drake says, satellite users have been acquisitive about avoiding interference. But Intelsat's satellites pose a special problem. In order to discourage interference, the Department of Defense merely says their "mission is classified."

The satellites broadcast frequencies are right on the edge of the restricted band, so radioastronomers consider the most important band set aside for their science.

Therein lies the issue. As the Department of Defense points out, the satellites do not broadcast within the restricted band. But Dr. Galt and his colleagues argue that the broadcasts are so close they interfere unnecessarily with observations. Also, since they are in a band designated for use by surface units, with no mention of use in space, the Canadians think the use of this band by satellites violates an implied intent to avoid crowding the restricted band.

Moreover, he adds, the spillover interference ruins between five and seven minutes of data in every hour and a half of observing time. Since the type of observations made depend on

This is a debatable legal point. Richard Dow of the National

Middle East

U.S./Israeli relations:

The gaps are wide and it's no secret

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Israel, on the diplomatic offensive, is bringing its admittedly wide differences with the United States into the open.

When Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin came to Washington two months ago, he accused the press of exaggerating U.S.-Israeli differences. That also was his contention when U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance visited Israel last month.

But now Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan is in the U.S. — making no attempt to hide what he describes as the "wide gaps" that exist between the U.S. and Israel over the essentials of a final Middle East settlement.

Some observers see in Mr. Dayan's remarks an implicit threat of a public battle with President Carter, with the help of the powerful pro-Israel lobby in the United States, at a time when much of Mr. Carter's "political capital" is being expended to secure ratification of a new Panama Canal treaty.

The Israelis might argue that going around Mr. Carter and appealing directly to the American public — and the Jewish community in particular — would be fair because Mr. Carter once threatened to go directly to

the Israeli public if he felt Israel's leaders were blocking attempt to secure a settlement.

In an interview with Time magazine last month, President Carter said that should a "particular leader" — and here he clearly meant Prime Minister Begin — find his position on a peace settlement in direct opposition to the position of the other parties, the President would try to marshal behind him public opinion around the world, including that of the leader standing in opposition to him. This was seen as a clear threat to go around Mr. Begin to his own people should he oppose a settlement agreed upon by the U.S., the Arabs, and the Soviet Union.

Since that threat was uttered, the differences between the United States and Israel have grown more acute, even as the United States appears to be narrowing some of its differences with the Arabs over how to approach both a peace conference and a final Middle East settlement.

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Israel has been thrown on the defensive by this narrowing of differences between the Arabs and Americans, but the United States' increasing emphasis on the "Palestinian question," and by some behind-the-scenes questioning within the American Jewish community of the apparently hard-line policies of Prime Minister Begin on now West Bank settlements.

In a press conference following his talks here with President Carter and Secretary of State Vance, Foreign Minister Dayan stressed a new theme of apparent flexibility on the settlements question. He said that it is not the settlements that will determine where future borders will be located, but negotiated borders that will determine which settlements are to remain and which are to be removed. Mr. Dayan also reaffirmed Israel's willingness to allow Palestinians to participate in a Jordanian peace delegation without asking whether those Palestinians were "sympathizers of the PLO" (the Palestine Liberation Organization).

But when it comes to U.S. and Arab proposals for the establishment of a "Palestinian homeland" based on an Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, it was clear, according to Mr. Dayan, that the U.S. and Israel find themselves at odds. If Mr. Dayan's comments were an indication, the U.S. is sticking to its position that Israel should withdraw from the West Bank of the Jordan, up to the 1967 lines, with only "minor" territorial modifications to be allowed for Israel's defenses.

Foreign Minister Dayan is reported to have brought with him to Washington's detailed draft peace treaty, a letter offering a substantial withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula as well as an extremely limited withdrawal from part of the Golan Heights, and proposals to offer "substantial autonomy" — within Israeli military control — to the Arabs living in the West Bank.

Israeli sources hint that this eventually would lead to some measure of Jordanian-Israeli cooperation on the West Bank. The question of formal sovereignty over the West Bank, they say, would be left open for further negotiation.

All this is not likely to please the Arabs — or the United States — given the Arab preferences for an Israeli withdrawal from most if not all of the West Bank. But Israeli sources contend that "some elements" of Foreign Minister Dayan's proposals, while not likely to gain immediate acceptance, offer possibilities for future modification and negotiation.

But, even within the Premier's own right-wing Likud bloc there have been misgivings. The Tel Aviv newspaper Maariv, normally devoted to Mr. Begin, accused him in a recent editorial of "a grave political blunder." The editor referred to his announcement of a grand military parade for the nation's 30th independence day next year.

Political analysts say Mr. Begin misjudged the country's mood in planning such a parade. Public resistance soon surfaced and members of his own party, and the parade would be a waste of money.

Eventually, Mr. Begin agreed to submit the question to the Knesset (Parliament) where it will be given a free vote; that is, members will

not be bound by party discipline. The vote will be taken, but by all indications a majority of the Knesset will say "no" to the parade.

In a battle with two major Jewish religious movements, Mr. Begin had to yield in the end. Under his coalition agreement with the Orthodox Agudat Israel party, Mr. Begin was committed to seek a parliamentary majority for an amendment to the law regarding conversions to the Jewish faith.

The amendment would have stipulated that only those conversions would be recognized by Israeli authorities that had been performed by Orthodox rabbis. But most American Jews belong to the Conservative and the Reform movements. Mr. Begin had to yield in the end.

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'Missing' Americans may be living in Vietnam

Some GI's are called defectors, dropouts

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO Unconfirmed reports received in Tokyo from sources in Vietnam say an undetermined number of Americans listed officially as missing in action (MIA) are living in various places throughout that Southeast Asian country.

They fall into two categories:

1. Defectors who passed over to Communists units to assist and fight against American units during U.S. combat involvement in the war.

2. "Psychological defectors" who simply walked away from their units to live with tribes in the mountains, or persons who became addicted to drugs who stayed behind after the American departure.

Vietnamese Communist authorities are said to be unwilling to publicize the existence of the first group for fear of the effect on negotiations to normalize relations with the U.S.

"They are afraid it would rub salt in old wounds," says a source for the reports.

Sensitivity about the MIA issue in the U.S. is well understood by the Vietnamese, however, and they are said to be torn by their loyalty to former U.S. servicemen who collaborated with them and the demands for more information by the American MIA lobby.

Ranking Vietnamese officials also are re-

ported ready to drop the wording "war reparations," a sensitive expression to Americans, in exchange for a milder-sounding "humanitarian aid" or "assistance" when they next negotiate with U.S. officials.

The Vietnamese are said to think this measure will help sidestep pressure groups in the states against giving aid to their country, especially if it is termed compensation for war damage.

It is reported, too, that at least 200 lives have been lost and 700 injuries have been incurred by the Vietnamese in one agricultural sector alone just outside Hanoi from clearing operations of American ordinance dropped over the area during the war.

Many such clearing operations are under way throughout Vietnam. In one town outside Saigon (now known as Ho Chi Minh City), former South Vietnamese Army tank commanders are "voluntarily" manning bulldozers to sweep areas clear of unexploded shells, according to the reports.

The casualty rates are high. But the volunteers are said to do it to make "clean" records for themselves in order that they might speed the return to their homes. Former Viet Cong soldiers also are said to have volunteered for similar jobs.

At An Loc, one of the last fierce battlegrounds involving U.S. troops — Vietnamese claim two

American regiments were wiped out there — the site these days is said to be overgrown with grass in contrast to its moonscape-like appearance at the climax of the fighting.

Visitors to the deserted town are not allowed to step off the main road into the grass, because of the massive number of shells said to be strewn throughout the former battlefield.

The sources in Vietnam also report these other developments:

Although the country is nominally unified, the former South Vietnamese currency still is worth twice as much as the North's dong, which is supposed to be the official standard everywhere.

But food apparently is a major problem throughout Vietnam. The daily calorie intake of the average North Vietnamese is said to be one-fourth that of a European.

Desperation over the food problem reportedly has influenced the Vietnamese to go more softly on terms for accommodating a settlement with the U.S. on diplomatic recognition.

• American consumer goods are still found on the Saigon black market, and the popular Western song "Yesterday" is a favorite of the Saigonese.

• Prostitutes continue to rove the streets near Saigon tourist hotels.

Recalling the "baby lift" of 1975, a visitor to orphanages in the Saigon area both before the end of the war and just recently claimed there was a marked improvement in conditions compared with the past.

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Travel from the North into the South is strictly controlled to avoid "enraptive" Southern ways, rubbing off on "ideologically pure" residents of the North.

Philippine President bends under human rights pressure, but ...

Will Marcos dare risk an election?

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor



Marcos — 'studying' national elections

So far it is unclear who will be up for reelection and when. It is widely assumed that elections would be held for mayors, provincial governors, and perhaps for the 12 autonomous regional governments in this country of 42 million people. President Marcos also has said he is studying the question of whether national elections might be held for a partly appointed, partly elected parliament approved in a national referendum last year.

Another unanswered question is how much freedom would be granted for election campaigning and what safeguards there would be to prevent a recurrence of election violence and other abuses that marked the pre-martial law period.

To avoid the pre-martial-law abuses a commission on elections has drawn up a new code, end public hearings on it are to be held in the next four months. The draft code would ban buying and free transport and food at the polls. It would limit campaigning to a few weeks and ban use of private security guards around candidates and polling places. Campaign expense also would be limited. All this is said to be designed to prevent the private armies that were influential before martial law from dominating new elections.

But skeptics will be waiting to see whether the final regulations limit open election com-

petitors or give certain advantages aligned with the President.

Overnight curfew already has been eliminated in Manila and elsewhere, although relatively few people are reported taking advantage of the eased restrictions. But Mr. Marcos' wife, Imelda (who is Governor of Metropolitan Manila), has expressed concern over rising crime rates in the city since the curfew. In 4 a.m. curfew was lifted Aug. 22. Statistics show a rise of 20 to 30 percent since then, she has told reporters.

Moreover, some village leaders reportedly have told the President that local elections could lead to fraud or offer fresh opportunity to communist guerrillas intent on causing disruptions. The President thus may have to deal not only with critics, suspicious that the elections may be a sham, but also with supporters concerned that election competition may legitimately or illegitimately undermine their positions.

Since July President Marcos is reported to have released some 1,500 prisoners from military detention. Most of these are accused criminals rounded up under martial law, although some have been arrested for alleged subversion. Many of the President's best known opponents have not been released, including former Senator Benigno Aquino.

Fukuda silent as Japan debates closer ties with China

By Tokashii Oka
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO The security map of East Asia is changing. As American military power recedes from the Asian mainland, a quiet debate goes on among Japanese military thinkers whether and how their country should make a compensatory tilt toward China.

Should Japan cultivate closer relations with Peking (as well as lucrative trade ties with Taiwan), the obstacle to further closeness is the Chinese insistence on a clause opposing "hegemony" in the proposed peace treaty between the two countries. The Chinese obviously aim this clause against the Soviet Union, so implication with which the Japanese do not want to associate themselves. Experts in the language of treaties have ways of getting around such obstacles, but there is a question of political will.

There are strong emotional arguments in Japan for closer relations with China. A cultural sibling born of Japan's millennial history of borrowings from Chinese civilization, religion, and writing systems, a guilt complex arising from Japan's invasion of China before and during World War II, a cozy perception that China, unlike the Soviet Union, does not threaten Japan's security — these combine with economic arguments that China could become a significant source of oil, coal, and other resources, as well as an important export market.

Stronger ties urged

In a leisurely fireside chat at a hill resort north of Tokyo, a former defense minister suggested that Japan should strengthen its political and economic ties with Peking. Not as part of an American-Japanese effort to encourage continuing confrontation between Moscow and Peking. Some American defense thinkers incline to a similar view. One of them, in a recent background conversation, maintained that if the U.S. delayed normalizing relations too long, the new Chinese leadership might incline toward a rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

For the U.S., the stumbling block obstructing full ties with China is Taiwan. American popular opinion will not permit the "sellout" of Taiwan to the mainland.

Peking seems eager

Peking itself seems eager to cultivate the Japanese defense establishment. A former Self-Defense Force chief of staff, former secretary-general of the National Defense Council, and several prominent defense commentators recently have been invited to China. Peking has proposed an exchange of sports teams with the Japanese self-defense forces — an overture that recalls the Ping-Pong diplomacy of the early Nixon years.

But if some Japanese politicians and defense thinkers incline toward closer ties with China, others counsel caution.

A former foreign minister notes that the Soviet Union is a superpower, while China is not, and that whether his countrymen like it or not, the Soviet Union is their closest neighbor.

The business community also is divided between those who see commercial advantages in close ties with China and those who dream of unlocking enormous resources frozen in the Siberian tundra.

Fukuda keeps silence

As the debate continues, Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda has remained silent. He has recently returned from a highly successful tour of Southeast Asia, during which he pledged well over a billion dollars in contributions to the economic well-being of the region, at the same time emphatically rejecting any military role for his country.

He knows Peking was pleased with the tour, seeing in it one means of shutting out Soviet influence from the region.

But Mr. Fukuda knows that Japanese diplomacy in East Asia must adroitly balance China and the Soviet Union while maintaining the closest links with the United States.

Until more conclusive evidence emerges regarding the stability and direction of the new Huo Ku-feng-Teng liaison team in Peking, the agile Japanese Prime Minister will not easily incline to one side or another of the either-China-or-Soviet debate.

(Reuters reported from Tokyo earlier this month that a Japanese parliamentary team had left for talks in Peking on concluding a peace and friendship treaty between the two countries, according to a Diet [Parliament] spokesman.)

(Japan and China normalized diplomatic relations in 1972, but the signing of the treaty has been held up because of Chinese insistence that the pact include a clause attacking "hegemony.")

(Japan opposes such a clause, which it sees as directed against the Soviet Union. China often accuses the Soviet Union of "hegemonism.")

U.S. and China quicker to trade than to talk

By Robert Kilborn Jr.
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

R. Vance's visit last month — and are scheduled to return again in October.

They keep their word

Wellman, representatives said Ernest J. Wright, vice-president for marketing and purchasing, see themselves as force for improved understanding.

In fact, two-way trade is quietly and steadily improving, and persons experienced in buying and selling in China estimate conservatively that it may be worth "a couple of billion dollars into the 1980s," providing there is some diplomatic progress as well.

These are two of the points made by representatives of Wellman, Inc., a Boston-based firm that specializes in international trade in fibers and textiles and has been dealing with the Chinese since early 1972. These representa-

tives have been to China five times this year — most recently during Secretary of State Cyrus

Said Mr. Wright, "What we're really talking about is normalization of trade."

Selective modernization

Because China does not enjoy most-favored-nation status in trade with American firms, he said, there is a 40-percent duty on imported Chinese silk, which Wellman buys in large quantities. On the other hand, the same goods from a favored country like Japan are taken at 7 percent.

In return, Wellman has been involved in selling oil recovery, mining, food packaging, and construction equipment. But Mr. Wright stressed that the Chinese are doing their modernizing selectively.

"They recognize that they are backward," he said. "But they are determined to remain self-reliant and to make foreign things serve China."

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Boaten

There is a big difference between the way the United States and China are proceeding on the diplomatic front and the way they do business with each other.

We've done a lot of business with the People's Republic," he said, "and our experiences have been good. They keep their word. They have always been businesslike with us."

Alan D. Farago, the coordinator of exports for Wellman, added: "The main point we can make is that we're going on our way. With every trip we make, we become closer friends.

The Chinese definitely recognize the necessity of modernization. In recent months, activity in foreign trade has picked up a great deal, and their bureaucrats are very busy."

He described trading offices in Peking as veritable beehives of activity, with business deals being negotiated simultaneously in many partitioned rooms.

Mr. Farago also described an "very significant" arrival in this country Sept. 8 of a high-level team from the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, the liaison arm of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The delegation already has met with Vice-President Walter F. Mondale and is to spend three weeks touring major cities.

Not incidentally, it came here directly from Peking and is to return directly as well, rather than stopping en route in any other country.

"I think the significant point is that the Chinese are just as dedicated as we are in solidifying relations," Mr. Farago said. "The United States is closer to being a friend than some of the so-called communist countries are."

Monday, September 26, 1977

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

*The struggle to keep the lid on the arms race

Soviets give up any or all of their super big weapons and reduce substantially the total number they have. This would restore the security of the American Minuteman missiles in their deep silos and wash out the need for finding a substitute which would be safe against the blast of the big Soviet missiles. That would save President Carter a lot of money and relieve him from the political pressure of the "hawks" on Capitol Hill who are greatly worried about the number of Soviet missiles and the size and "throw weight" of the big ones.

The trouble with the American version of the right kind of SALT II is that it would leave the Soviets vulnerable to the medium- and intermediate-range missiles possessed by American allies in Western Europe and by the Chinese.

It would be just dandy for Washington if Moscow would agree to cut back on its arsenal of nuclear weapons to the point where the weapons in Western Europe and China would equal those in the Soviet Union. But can you imagine the Kremlin ever buying any such deal?

What seems likely to happen is that American weaponeers are going to have to try to think through some of the implications of the existing situation. This is that the fixed missile in its deep, concrete silo which has long been the backbone of both the American and the Soviet "deterrents" is becoming vulnerable to the new nuclear weapons developed or in prospect in both countries. In other words, the American Minuteman missiles and their Soviet equivalents are becoming obsolete. They are going to have to be phased out and replaced by something new and different unless both sides can agree on a standstill in new weapons.

Right now the United States is working on its own new generation of missiles. President Carter has authorized development and deployment of "cruise" missiles and the development of a so-called "neutron bomb," which is being proposed as an answer to Moscow's large arsenal of tanks in Eastern Europe.

Moscow, according to U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown in a speech Sept. 15, is also working on its own new generation of nuclear weapons. He mentioned work being done on four different "systems." None of these has yet been tested, but existing NATO intelligence seems to indicate that they include solid-fuel

propulsion. That would make possible a mobile weapon. The liquid-fueled variety is led by its fuel supplies. Also, the solid-fueled variety can be fired promptly. Existing Soviet land-based, long-range missiles are liquid-fueled.

One possibility would be to go for mobile land-based missiles. The present leading American concept is for each missile to be housed in central roundhouse surrounded by a circle of 10 widely spaced alternate semihardened shelters. The missile could be moved on short notice to any one of the outlying shelters. There would thus be 11 places for the one missile. An enemy strike aimed at that missile would have to guess which one of the 11 sites it would be in. Its chance of survival would be 10 out of 11. Or it could take 11 separate enemy missiles to knock out the one American missile.

Another idea is for the United States to phase out the land-based missile altogether and rely entirely on submarine and air-launched missiles. The British have already taken their deterrent off the land and put it entirely in the air and on the sea. That has the enormous advantage of removing land targets. If the United States followed the British lead the extra big

Soviet missiles would be out of business. Their purpose is to be able to knock out land-based missiles. If there are no land-based missiles the Soviet big guns are deprived of their targets.

But of course that would open up a whole new round in the arms race and greatly change the problem of devising a new SALT agreement. That is more than Messrs. Vance and Gromyko can expect to accomplish between now and Oct. 3 when the existing agreements run out.

President Carter has, in effect, proposed both a substantial cutback in existing nuclear weapons levels and also a standstill on the next generation of such weapons. So far, Moscow has failed to come up with any counter offer. It has accepted the propaganda disadvantage rather than make a new proposal that might interest Washington.

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charge of aiding the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency by Mr. Carter himself.

A recent refusal to renounce scientist Benjamin Levieb, the highest-ranking Soviet Jew ever to seek to emigrate.

Police and KGB action against Baptist congregations in three separate cities, climax by several hours of struggle to Bryanak, 220 miles southwest of Moscow.

An unusually explicit speech by KGB chief Yuri Andropov on Sept. 9, which Western analysts continue to comb for its revealing, top-level justification and analysis of Soviet attitudes toward dissidents.

Dissidents noted

With Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev also on the docket, Mr. Andropov addressed a nationally televised public meeting. The Soviet Union still contained small numbers of dissidents, he said, just as there are thieves, bribe-takers, speculators, and other criminal offenders.

The continuing tough line against dissidents is shown in:

- The detention and apparent arrest of well-known artist Oskar Rabin. His son told newsmen on Sept. 13 that the seizure the day before was a mystery but that his father now faced vagrancy charges.

- More preparations for the pending trials of dissident leaders Anatoly Shecharansky, Yuri Orlov, and Alexander Ginsberg (Mr. Shecharansky has been defended against a Soviet

police were staffed by men of moral purity and loyalty in duty, he said.

Simultaneously, the Kremlin has shown these signs of pragmatism:

It told one noted dissident Sept. 12 — Valentin Turchin, head of the unofficial Moscow branch of Amnesty International — that he could emigrate. Mr. Turchin said he had been given one month to leave, with his family. He intends to teach mathematics at Columbia University in New York.

Mora visas granted

It has allowed other figures, such as youth mathematician Grigory Chudovsky and mime artist Boris Ammanov to leave. It has given exit visas to the stepdaughter of the most prominent dissident of them all, 1975 Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr. Andrei Sakharov. It has given a 60-day pass to Dr. Sakharov's wife Yelena, for an eye operation in Italy.

Meanwhile, former Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorov, activist Tanya Khodorovich, and others try to keep alive the work of the human rights monitoring committee founded by Dr. Orlov last year. And a committee to protest the use of psychiatric methods against dissidents appealed for support to the recent international psychiatric conference in Honolulu.

*How to keep a writer in his place

Mr. Holbrook complained that last year he had earned about £13 gross for a 70-hour week; and by the time he had deducted various expenses, this left him nothing at all to live on. The mystery of his continued survival was explained by a £40-a-week grant from the Arts Council.

"But this year," David Holbrook disclosed, "I do not have any such assistance and wonder how I am going to survive... It seems clear that, however successful a serious writer, he can no longer survive in a time of inflation and high wage rises."

In due course the reactions started coming in. At least two brother writers took the attitude that having made his own bed, Holbrook should lie in it and stop groaning — or else go and sleep somewhere else.

"Perhaps," he added unkindly, "those who fail to do so have not so far succeeded in catching the ear of the reading public."

Another correspondent, Kenneth Hudson, was unkind still. Holbrook did not seem to have had much commercial success with his wares; what he needed was more energy and salesmanship. For a start, writing letters to the editor of the *Times* was "the most foolish and bankrupting thing one can do," since it didn't earn a penny. Then Holbrook should follow Hudson's own example by studying the market and turning out a relentless 7,000 words a day.

Holbrook wasn't entirely without friends, however. D. G. B. Marshall-English rallied round to deplore the Hughes/Terrell argument that because a writer had chosen an occupation that put him "outside the system," therefore he should be prepared to live at a wage well below the average. Did dockers or policemen accept the argument? that because they had chosen to work as such they could go elsewhere if they felt underpaid? "The writer has as much right as the rest of us to expect a reasonable return for his labor."

Thoreau the motor certainly won't rest: it comes up in the *Times* letters at least once every 18 months. This reporter's guess is that all over the United Kingdom, pocket educators are trying to work out how many writers (8,000 to 10,000, perhaps) ought to be making a decent living out of Graham Watson's £25,000,000, though no calculator, human or transistorized, could answer who has actually got all that cash.

Then Prime Minister Terrell announced that elections will be held. The opposition parties were caught off guard and old (1974) voter registration lists will be used. As a result, and because of the worried mood of whites, the National Party is expected to be returned with an even bigger mandate than the current 116 parliamentary seats out of 186.

The call for elections has shifted, troubled white thinking from a growing preoccupation with the racial issue in South Africa — what to do about the urban blacks — back to the smaller, introverted sphere of white politics. But the central issue will remain, like a giant wall.

Perhaps the best compromise, between deterrence and a decent living is the one suggested by an unenthusiastic Scottish poet: declare all writing illegal.

*Arab money and Mideast talks

So far 13 nations or entities — six industrial powers, six members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and the Swiss national bank — have pledged money to the Wiedenken fund. The largest donor is Saudi Arabia, followed by the U.S. and West Germany.

No meaningful pressure can be exerted on the oil-producing cartel (OPEC), according to noted economist Walter W. Heller, unless Americans cut back on the amount of foreign oil they buy.

As for Arab use of the "money weapon," Dr. Heller notes that the Saudis and Kuwaitis, like other investors, seek the best return on their money. They find it through the Western banking system, whose disruption would hurt the Arabs themselves.

In the end, most analysts agree, what Arab governments do or do not do with their oil and money depends on their relations with Israel, most successful in curbing inflation.

*China army under party's thumb

military not to aim at expanding its influence too far. Support of high military leaders is thought to have been crucial in helping Chairman Huai Kuo-feng purge the radicals last fall. This, in turn, may have raised the military's political expectations, precipitating this article as a reminder that civilians nonetheless will stay in control.

To offset any military unhappiness over the pace at which Chinese defenses will be upgraded.

To modernize agriculture and industry, Chinese leaders will have to make decisions on priorities that sometimes tend to leave military commanders unsatisfied, analysts suggest.

The name of the shoe store is Prógress. The Právda headline: Why is there no progress of Prógress?

Usually, the long-suffering Soviet consumer has little choice; He is stuck with whatever is available.

But when it comes to shoes, especially women's shoes, fashion has begun to take a hand. Shoppers can spend weeks searching for a pair. Article after article in the central press refers to mountains of unsold pairs.

Exact figures are hard to pin down. A 1970 Leningrad University report said 40 million pairs were unsold that year — and unsold stocks had grown 65 percent to three years.

The figures have worsened considerably since then, analysts say.

"I haven't worn a pair of Russian shoes for four years," says one Muscovite.

For older shoppers, she adds, it is almost

Soviets get choosy about shoes

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
Dusty, thick-soled, square-toed, ill-colored, unwanted, unbought, they lie forlornly on shelves throughout the Soviet Union.

They are symbols of poor design and manufacture. They are also one of the few examples of genuine consumer power in this centrally planned land where all decisions are made in Moscow.

They are Soviet-made shoes.

Soviet shoppers simply do not buy them unless there is no other choice. They prefer to pay up to 100 percent more for stylish and strong pairs from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Finland, or the United Kingdom. The black-market price can go as high as 150 rubles (\$20) or more for an imported pair of women's high winter boots.

Impossible to find any proper shoe, Russian or foreign.

Soviet officials can point to a huge increase in production, and somewhat better quality, over the years.

But Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev himself referred to consumer unhappiness at quality in February, 1976. And officials keep importing large numbers of shoes — a total of 116 million pairs last year (including 68.8 million leather shoes), almost one-fifth of the total domestic production of 1975 — some 700 million pairs.

The Progress factory seems to have been hit by one of the main defects in the Soviet shoe business — shortages of raw materials.

Právda correspondent V. Vasil'yev wrote back in July that the best factories ought to receive the most supplies if shortages occur. But after time delivery of leather and polyurethane were either late or suddenly canceled.

Last year the factory produced 400,000 fewer pairs of one top line (woman's leather high boots) and 244,000 fewer pairs of another (shoe with polyurethane sole).

So far this year the situation has grown even more serious, Právoda indicates.

Bacchus the factory had to keep changing its plans at the last minute, quality suffered. While visiting the plant a few months ago, Western correspondents were told that only 24,000 pairs were returned last year out of a production total of 14 million.

Workers have begun to leave. So great is the scandal that a correspondent for the Communist Party newspaper Právoda, no less, has just written a tough article about it.

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Kremlin on Eurocommunism:

A little more bark, a little less bite

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Vietnam
The Soviets have renewed their criticism of the Eurocommunists, but this time on a lower level. Their main charge now is that the Italian, French, and Spanish parties are misguidedly fueling Western efforts to exploit divergences within the Communist movement.

In June, the Yugoslavs responded even more actively than the Eurocommunists themselves. They saw New Times reviving all the familiar Soviet claims to a special leading role in the movement, contrary to the principle of each party's independence laid down in the 1976 Berlin declaration.

Since the June furor, in fact, there seems to have been a tacit wish by all involved to cool down the dispute.

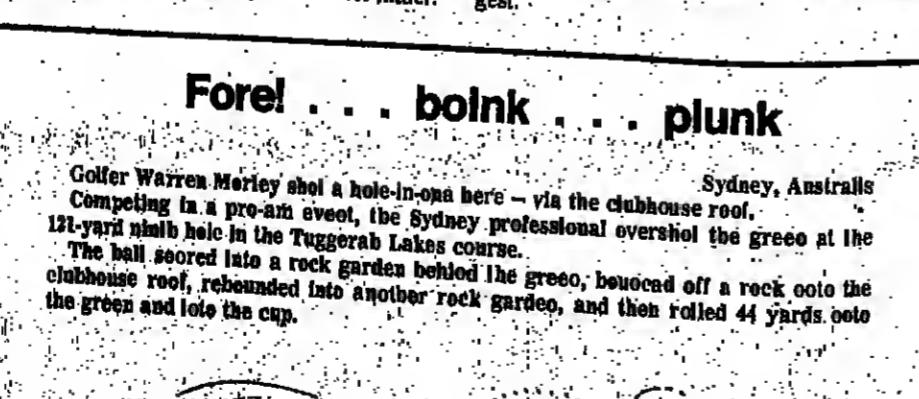
The movement's difficulties stood high on President Thio's Moscow agenda. Subsequently, Yugoslav communists indicated that he strongly warned the Soviets of the harm done and the aggravation of the differences by Moscow's violent open attacks on the independent parties.

Since their return, Yugoslav officials have said they found the Soviets in a somewhat more flexible, responsive mood. Though not retreating from their own "solidarity" formula and obviously retaining their own interpretations of everything, they at least accepted the Yugoslav's recipe, which is that "solidarity" depends on "voluntary and equal" cooperation.

If there is a lull on this particular front, the Shoe-Soviet dispute — a major source of disagreement between pro-Soviet and independent parties — shows signs of flaring up anew.



By Sven Simon
Spanish Communist leader Carrillo; he makes Brezhnev angry too



Fore! . . . bolink . . . plank

Sydney, Australia
Competing in a pro-am event, the Sydney professional overshot the green at the 131-yard ninth hole in the Tuggeranong Lakes course.

The ball scored into a rock garden behind the green, bounded off a rock onto the green and lots the cap.



For older shoppers, she adds, it is almost

The spectators caught in the squeeze



Colored wedding in Pietermaritzburg: Are they Afrikaners or are they black?

By John E. Young



By R. Norman Mahony, staff photographer
English-speaking South Africans bowl on front of the Wanderers Club, Johannesburg

By Geoffrey Godbold
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Durban, South Africa
"When two elephants fight, the grass gets hurt." This African proverb was the comment of sensitive writer Alan Paton, probably South Africa's best known English-speaking citizen, on what is going on in his country today.

The elephants? White Afrikaner and urban Afrikaner nationalism, already joined in struggle here. The grass? Those other communities or groupings in South Africa's complicated society not committed — at least fully — in the struggle, but likely to be caught up in it whether they want to or not.

There are at least five of them:

- The English-speaking South Africans, 2 million of them, with their biggest concentration here in Durban and in surrounding Natal province. (Mr. Paton, now in his 80s, white-haired and craggy-faced, lives in a modest single-story house surrounded by flowers high in the hills about 20 miles inland from Durban.)
- The handful of Afrikaners, very few of them, who have dared challenge the direction of Afrikaner nationalism and prefer confrontation to confrontation with "black allies."

- The Coloreds, 2½ million of them, concentrated mostly in the Western Cape Province. These are people of mixed race whose ancestors were mainly the original Dutch settlers of the Cape and slaves, usually of East Indian origin. Their language and religion are predominantly that of the Afrikaners: Afrikaans and the Dutch Reformed Church.

- The Indians, ¾ million of them, whose ancestors came from what is now India and Pakistan in the 19th century originally to work in the English-owned sugar plantations in Natal Province. There are more of them here in Durban than in any other South African industrial center.

- The rural Afrikaners living in the ethnically defined African homelands — and more particularly the tribal chiefs or chief ministers of these homelands. Of these ethnic groupings, the three biggest are the Zulu, Xhosa, and Tswana speaking peoples, in that order. Their leaders are Gatsha Buthelezi (Zulu), Kaiser Matanzima (Xhosa), and Lucas Mangope (Tswana). The total population of the KwaZulu lands is slightly less than 9 million; on either side of half of South Africa's total black population of 18 million. The others live near white urban areas or on white farms.

The whole idea of the African homeland plan — devised by successive Afrikaner governments since the Afrikaner National Party came to power in 1948 — is to reduce to the minimum those "black" South Africans with South African citizenship and to give them instead the citizenship of their respective homelands. This would lead, in theory, to most blacks in white South Africa becoming foreigners. This in turn would enable white South Africans to claim that they are a majority (and no

minority as at present) in their own

Membership question

increasingly, urban blacks outside the bands, urged on by the black consciousness movement, see the homeland plan as a confidence trick to deprive black South Africans of their birthright as South Africans. Chief Matanzima has so far gone all the accepted formal independence for the Transkei. But Xhosas outside the band, are resisting the substitution of

CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African citizenship for South African citizenship and Chief Matanzima is indirectly supporting them, lest he be thought too much a mouthpiece of the South African Government.

Mangope has boxed himself in by a formal independence for the Tswanas — another Tswana later this year, and may himself in deep trouble with urban blacks — a countermove to the signs of the black consciousness movement. And these same cyclones expect the Coloreds and Indian leadership to opt for sitting on the fence in case, to now embracing Mr. Vorster, they should find themselves one day having backed a loser.

Cyclones suggest the whole operation is aimed at driving a wedge between Coloreds and Indians on the one hand and, on the other, the blacks — a countermove to the signs of the three groups coming together within the black consciousness movement. And these same cyclones expect the Coloreds and Indian leadership to opt for sitting on the fence in case, to now embracing Mr. Vorster, they should find themselves one day having backed a loser.

to calling themselves "black" and show sympathy with the black consciousness movement. Significantly, young Coloreds joined Africans in protest demonstrations against government policy in Cape Town in September, 1976.

Representation formula

In recent weeks, Prime Minister John Vorster's government has conferred with CPAC and SAIC representatives about possible constitutional changes which would reportedly establish separate Colored and Indian parliaments. These would send representatives to join representatives of the existing white Parliament on a presidential council in the ratio of four whites to two Coloreds to one Indian. (This, of course, would still leave ultimate power in white hands.) Simultaneously, the South African Defense Minister has announced that the military draft may be extended to Coloreds and Indians, who already are accepted for military service in certain special units.

Some observers interpret these moves as a significant step forward in the direction of power sharing between the races in South Africa. But there are Colored and Indian spokesmen who ask how it really can be thus when the provisions have nothing whatsoever to offer to a disfranchised group outnumbering the Coloreds and Indians together: the blacks.

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As for the Afrikaners who have broken with hard-line Afrikaner nationalism and preach conciliation with blacks and other nonwhites, they remain voiceless in the wilderness. They include political moderates who identify themselves with the English-speaking CPAC Progressive Reform Party and more daring individuals such as F. J. van Wyk, who heads the South African Institute of Race Relations, and the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naudé, former Moderator of the South Transvaal Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church who since 1963 has headed the Christian Institute. They usually find themselves ostracized by National Party and Dutch Reformed Church leaders.

'Still in the wilderness'

Dr. Beyers Naudé told this writer: "When I made the break and took the job with the Christian Institute in 1963, I told my wife that for the next 12 years we'd be in the wilderness, but that I hoped that by then Afrikaners would have understood what I am trying to convey to them. I'm afraid we are still in the wilderness."

English-speaking South Africans are in some ways in the most sensitive position of all. They know that Afrikaners have never completely trusted them. Yet they are aware that it was their immediate ancestors who set the country on the road to wealth and prosperity with the development of gold and diamonds in the 19th century. They know they still are deeply involved in the country's economic well-being. (After all, diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer is one of them.) And they love the land that they feel is as much theirs as the Afrikaners.

A Colored lecturer in Afrikaans at the Coloreds' University of the Western Cape said: "Driving alongside the demolished shantytown, I saw small groups of Africans seeking shelter under propped-up plastic sheeting and warming themselves in the chill drizzle by lighting fires of the rubbish. Just ahead of me was a lone grandmotherly white woman stopping her car at intervals and carrying an armful of loaves of bread to this knot and that knot of Africans. At one point, she took off her coat and then removed a cashmere sweater which she put around the shoulders of a shivering black woman.

There was obvious gratitude from the recipients — but in an ultimate confrontation, blacks are still unlikely to distinguish between Afrikaners and English-speakers. As an Afrikaner policeman had said when urging me to turn back from entering Soweto on a day of violence in that huge black township outside Johannesburg: "If they attack you, it'll be no use shouting that you speak English."

Second of a series. Following page: the young black nationalists.

"In the last resort, the English-speaking South Africans' situation could be the most pitiable of all. Unlike us [i.e. the Coloreds], they can never be Afrikaners and they can never be blacks." (He was referring to the fact that the Coloreds are in the anomalous position of being Afrikaans-speaking and of having nonwhite skins.)

When it comes to the harsher aspects of Afrikaner policy, English-speaking South Africans criticize it, but they have proven either unable or unwilling since 1948 to check the main thrust of that policy. In fairness to them, however, it must be recalled that over the years Afrikaners have established for themselves a monopoly of control of both political power and institutions. Yet most English-speaking South Africans are as sensitive as Afrikaners to outside criticism and particularly to the foreign press. Repeatedly they say to newsmen from outside: "Can't you find something good to report? There is much good if you look for it."

An act of kindness

Behind all this, of course, is a cruel dilemma. English-speakers do not feel personally responsible for the toughest Afrikaner legislation. Consequently they have little feeling of personal guilt for what nonwhite South Africans see as that legislation's excesses. Yet this does not prevent the compassionate among them from trying to help the victims of those excesses.

One particular act of human kindness lives in this writer's memory. In mid-August, the authorities summarily made 8,000 Africans homeless by bulldozing flat a squatters' shantytown which had gone up at Modderdam on the outskirts of Cape Town. Most of the people dispossessed were said to be there illegally and the shantytown was said to be a health hazard. There was a considerable outcry in the English-language press against the authorities' action, deemed all the more heartless because it came in the damp cold of the Cape winter.

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Zulu Chieftain Gatsha Buthelezi



Xhosa Chieftain Kaiser Matanzima



In South Africa: a swelling tide of 'black consciousness'

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

The young black Nationalists

By Geoffrey Godeell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor
Johannesburg

The rising tide of black nationalism in South Africa differs from earlier black protest movements in one all-important respect: It's immediate aim is the psychological or mental emancipation of the black man and woman — not their political emancipation.

The current tide generally is referred to as the "black consciousness movement," and the most important organization within it is the Black People's Convention (BPC). Other organizations under the movement's umbrella are the South African Students' Organization (SASO) and the South African Students' Movement (SAMM) — the former operating at college level, the latter at high-school level. All are exclusively black.

One of the banned leaders of the BPC explained to this writer that the latest generation of politically articulate South African blacks sees mental emancipation as a necessary prelude to political emancipation from the subservient status in which their country's 18 million blacks have hitherto been held by the white minority of 4½ million whites. (A banned person has to live in a designated area — often a kind of banishment — cannot legally be in the presence of more than one other person, and may not have his or her words quoted by the media within South Africa.)

Once, colonial emancipation had been achieved, this banned leader said, political fiction would naturally evolve, leading to political emancipation. There is little doubt that the political unrest and protest from South Africa's black townships over the past 18 months — most notably that associated with Soweto, the sprawling black urban area outside Johannesburg — is a direct outcome of the black consciousness movement, although not directly organized by the BPC.

Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans, whose National Party has controlled the government since 1948, have reacted to these protests (usually described as "riots") with increasing toughness. Leaders of the protest are arrested and often held for long periods of interrogation — usually accompanied by torture. The police (whose white members are predominantly Afrikaans) use guns, dogs, and batons. But amazingly, this writer found no sign of fear or of being cowed among young blacks who said they had been on the receiving end of this treatment.

On the contrary, young black men and women alike are consistently buoyant and optimistic. They are, truly, psychologically liberated.

They give the clenched-fist black-power salute and cry (in Zulu): "Amandla!" (Power), to which the response is: "Ngawethu" (is ours). In public, both the salute and the cries are considered provocative by the police and can often lead to trouble.

A Soweto man in his late 20s, Paul Langa, was given a 30-year jail sentence last month under the Terrorism Act, he had been banished to a back town near King Williams' Town in

bomb explosions outside a police station. The World, Johannesburg's only black newspaper, reported: "Not a tear was shed by either Langa's wife or his relatives and friends. Instead they shook hands with him and gave clenched fist salutes as he was led back to the cells." All this, said the newspaper, "despite the presence of both uniformed and plain-clothes police in the public gallery." (There was no evidence Paul Langa was a member of the BPC. His affiliation was said to be with a Soweto students' "suicide squad.")

CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In conversation with Soweto teenagers, this writer asked if they were not deterred by signs that the more they defied, the government — with school boycotts, for example — the tougher the government was likely to become. The students' retort was: Had I not been in war? When I said I had been in World War II, they asked if I had then dwelt every morning on the possibility of being killed. I told them I had not. Well, they said, neither do we.

One Soweto student — not a member of the group — was quoted as saying: "If 20,000 of us have to be killed so that 20 million of us can be free, it will still be a price worth paying."

BPC leaders say their movement, founded in 1972, is growing all the time in numbers and maturity. Four years ago, they add, it would have been easy to destroy the movement, but it would be very difficult to destroy it now. If the government "creams off" the leadership, they claim, others are immediately available to fill vacancies.

One BPC leader said anybody wanting to measure the headway made by the black consciousness movement over the past five years should ride a bus back to Soweto with black workers going home from Johannesburg and compare conversations with what they were five years ago. This is not the BPC's only argument. It also claims that the movement is spreading rapidly — especially among the young — illustrating what their white employers had shown them. Today the most frequent topic is the latest indignity at white hands which is no longer going to be put up with.

Two BPC leaders told this writer separately that only 20 percent of urban blacks held their heads high five years ago. Today, 90 percent do — thanks to the black consciousness movement.

There are South Africans, black and white alike, who consider that one of the most important and potentially influential blocks of the younger generation was Steve Biko, who died while on hunger strike in detention a fortnight ago. He was the first president of SASO, and honorary president of the BPC. He probably would have been president if he had not been banned before the BPC was formally organized.

The ANC is the dean of African protest movements in South Africa, having been founded in 1912. It was in 1952, and its leader, Nelson Mandela, is serving a life sen-

tence on Robben Island off Cape Town. The ANC operates underground and outside South Africa, and it does have links with communists. Among its current operations is the recruitment of young South African blacks in training outside the country as guerrillas. The PAC, also outlawed in 1960, is a group that broke away from the ANC in 1959. Its leader, Robert Sobukwe, lives under virtual house arrest in Kimberley after serving a jail sentence on Robben Island. This movement, too, operates underground in South Africa.

The Soweto students are in fact becoming increasingly adept in organizing their protests on their own — and keeping their plans to themselves. Their first open move was on June 16, 1976, aimed at ending the government plan to make Afrikaans a language of instruction in Soweto schools. They were successful. This summer's drive — no successful so far — is to bring an end to the whole government-imposed system of African education. This, the students say, is grossly under-financed (compared with education) and is intended to keep blacks in a subservient position.

To start with, the students' initiatives, kept secret even from their parents, put a strain on relations between the generations, many young people reluctantly told their parents that the efforts and methods of earlier generations had failed to put an end to humiliation of blacks, so the students should be allowed to do their own way. One said: "The tree of liberty has not grown from the conference table. It will grow only if watered by the blood of martyrs."

So far, Mr. Biko said, the country's Afrikaans leadership had not got round to listening to what blacks wanted. Even the best of the Afrikaans feared that any concession to blacks would bring "corruption, anarchy, and chaos. For them, the chaos they fear is justification enough to maintain the present situation. But for blacks, the present situation is worse than chaos."

Mr. Biko said he did not doubt the eventual victory of outright racial conflict in South Africa. It could either be controlled or it could get out of control. "All we can do is minimize the conflict. All of us are involved; I want to keep the conflict at a minimum level."

An associate of Mr. Biko said the eventual South Africa they wanted was "an egalitarian state regardless of race."

But the Soweto students told this writer that they were not satisfied with the government's policies. They believed that behind the BPC and the student protest movement were third-party organizers — perhaps the African National Congress (ANC), perhaps the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), perhaps communists by this new generation so committed to black power.

Third in a series.

Biko death

Prime Minister Vorster has announced that an inquiry into Mr. Biko's death will be held.

Police Minister Kruger has now said police "heads may roll." He has also tried to extricate himself from some statements he made about Mr. Biko's death — such as "It leaves me cold" — and from the legend about his death from Afrikaners after "his death from Afrikaners" in the struggle.

The ANC is the dean of African protest movements in South Africa, having been founded in 1912. It was in 1952, and its leader, Nelson Mandela, is serving a life sen-

people/places/things



Tukano priest's rattles and pipes



Tukano Indian woman eats out for manioc fields, her forehead and cheeks adorned with red paint

Photo by Clayton Jones

Amazon Indians still fight battle of the sexes

By Clayton Joes and Ward Morehouse III
Staff correspondents of
The Christian Science Monitor

Miura, Colombia
Peyu, a sturdy and simple Indian maiden, is among the last of the Amazon women of the forest.

Her isolated people, the Tukano, have not changed their ways much since 1542 when the Amazon's first explorer, a one-eyed Spanish conquistador named Francisco de Orellana, reached the Amazon in the Atlantic.

Each Tukano village sits on a bend of a tributary, where it has sat for centuries — in a remote region of the Amazon's upper northwest, where jungle waters run a miasma of tall, dripping trees has sheltered the Indians from Western civilization for centuries.

Peyu, whose name means turtle in Tukano, recently took a short journey from her village on the Pira-Pirana River — a journey which suggests why tall tales of assertive Amazon women started in Indian folklore.

Peyu left to seek a mate. Under a hot equatorial sun, she walked from the forest (a Tu-

kano male symbol) to the banks of the river (a female symbol). Peyu's black hair hung straight down her brown, round face and over her bare shoulders. She picked up a heart-shaped paddle and, with the ease of an anaconda, headed her shallow dugout canoe upstream. In a few weeks, she would bring back a husband to her village. He would be accepted like the men brought before him.

Under the forest's canopy, giant iridescent blue butterflies called Morphus flitter and glide around a rectangular communal hut where six Tukano families, including Peyu's parents, live in palm-string hammocks and tend a perpetual fire.

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ing a sieve-like woven tube, called a tipiti, poison juice are squeezed from the white manioc pulp. Over a large, flat stone boiled by fire, the pulp is then baked into cassava bread, the main foodstuff of the tribe.

Through slits in the hut's walls, the son's rays form circles of light on the women's calm faces. They accept their role. So do men, simply as a reflection of a divided universe: forest food is male and river food, such as fish, is female. Sour taste is feminine, sweet taste is masculine. Male food, however, can be transformed to female under the yellow fire given by "father sun."

The hut's front door, which receives the sunlight, is for men. Women use the back door where they sit under the men's reflections. Red pigment adorns the men's faces in different patterns than the women's. Protection is symbolized by the right hand (male), while the left hand (female) means disgrace and weakness.

Spheres of Influence

Settlements have three lairds. Men use the upper one, women the lower, and the middle is where they meet. Tukano women must never see men making rattles and flutes, blowguns and headdresses, or bows and arrows.

Preparation for a hunt focuses the men's energies for killing tapirs, armadillos, large rodents, and colorful birds. Male Tukano also fish, but rely on the women, who stand waist-deep upstream, to agitate the waters with barefoot plant branches while the men collect the fish, stunned by the plant's poison.

For many Amazon tribes, existencia is an expression of this intense struggle between the sexes, from myths of creation to daily jungle chores.

For many Amazon tribes, existencia is an expression of this intense struggle between the sexes, from myths of creation to daily jungle chores.

Women get what they want.

Decisions appear to be made by men, says University of Brasilia anthropologist Alida Rita Ramos, who spent two years living with a Venezuelan tribe. "But Indian women know what they want and can scream and protest to get it." In Tukano eyes, the life of the hunter is the only life fit for a man. Women are horticulturists.

Each day, women hike into the forest with large baskets, the artifacts most intimately identified with feminine tasks, slung with a strap across their foreheads, their heads down, often carrying a baby. They work until noon in open, two-acre fields, called chagras, which have been clear-cut and burned. They plant and harvest the potato-like mandioc, or atapoca of the Amazon region and a source of tapoca, which the women haul back to the village along with wild pineapple, bananas, pepper, plantain, palm nut, papaya, avocado, peach palm, and large ants (a delicacy).

For all the Tukanos' sexual roles, men and women intimately understand each other as complements of one another. That intimacy, however, probably will be destroyed within a decade or two by customs from outside. Peyu may be the last link in a long chain of Amazons.

Contraceptive practices

Blame for childless couples is always ascribed to the woman. But a man who already has two children is accused of being a bad husband and causing too much work for his wife. This arises from the fact that both men and women are responsible for contraception, using a mysterious plant juice, a practical anthropologists have recently found to be widespread among Amazon tribes. Only one Tukano woman is pregnant at a time so that no strain is placed on the tribe.

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Path from thatched hut leads down to Pira-Pirana River

sports

America's Cup race: Winning was a breeze for Courageous

By Jonathan Horsch
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Newport, Rhode Island — The sleek 12-meter yacht 200 yards in front of us, 10 miles out in Rhode Island Sound, slipped through the water so effortlessly that they left hardly a trace — sure proof that Courageous and Australia have reached nearly the ultimate in resistance-free hull design.

Powered by man's first wings — each yacht's 1,800 square feet of sail — Ted Turner's U.S. America's Cup defender and Noel Robins' challenger from Australia sailed, jibed, wheeled, and gyred like two immense and graceful eagles flying in formation, guided by nature and unwavering instinct.

The final race in the 23rd America's Cup series left traditions undisturbed as the air and water, Turner's Courageous swept the best-of-seven series 4-0. The Americans once again proved their superiority at sea, as they have done every time since the revolutionary new-design ship America captured the coveted Victorian silver trophy from Britain's Royal Yacht Squadron in 1851.

A gleaming replica of America, with her well of gaff-rigged sail strung from her sharply raked masts, was the pride of the huge spectator fleet. Breasting the waves again leaving nearly undisturbed water in her wake, America was a reminder to all of how important the Cup races have been in achieving technological breakthroughs.

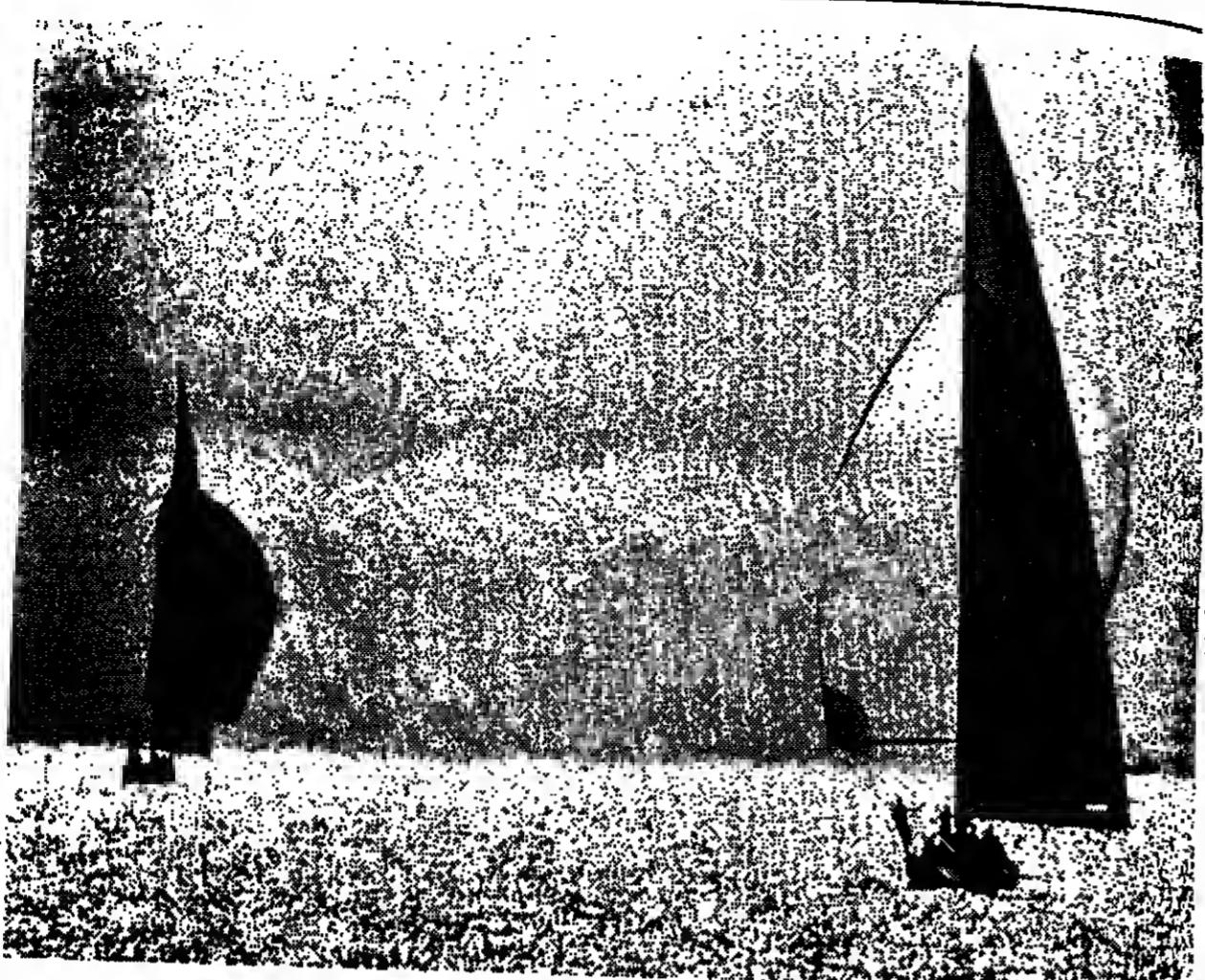
The immense effort and expense poured into each Cup race have brought far more than just sporting honor to the successive defenders. Over 128 years, the most sought after international sailing trophy has earned the U.S. a reputation for design innovation, for determination, and for cooperation among men from a wide variety of arts and sciences. This reputation has been important in the commercial and diplomatic worlds, not just in the world of sports.

The 1977 races certainly kept alive the proud tradition of international achievement.

Georgia-born Ted Turner may have been suspended from baseball for his explosive ways. But for all his sild and stuffy trappings, the New York Yacht Club has welcomed Turner into the America's Cup world and even into Newport high society.

Turner and the rough Australians whose near-perfect boat and tactics almost matched his own were welcome despite all the social traditions they breached. The important point was that they kept alive the tradition of increasing our understanding of how to drive a hull through the sea just a fraction faster.

This goal of technical advance is shared by the thousands of



America's Cup competitors Courageous (left) and Australia sail into the setting sun

spectators who braved Rhode Island's September seas to watch each race.

One retired Navy man winced when listening to Turner's crude remarks. But he has watched every Cup race but one since 1954 and hopes to watch Turner again in 1980 because "this man has taught every one of us more about sailing."

Another professional who has learned from Turner is Halsey Herreshoff, grandson of the famous marine engineer Nathaniel Herreshoff, whose Rhode Island yard built eight Cup winners.

Halsey Herreshoff watched each maneuver closely — because he is a long-time 12-meter racer and hopes someday to have the honor of building a Cup defender himself.

Herreshoff believes that new developments in hull design, sails, rigging, and marine technology depend on "thoroughbred" 12-meters and on the America's Cup races. He would like to see the race rules liberalized to "allow greater latitude" for new developments.

He is convinced, furthermore, that the costs involved are more than justified by the spinoff benefits for both the dedicated racer and the pleasure boater. The benefits include new and safer rigging, sails in new fabrics which hold their precise fit despite the tremendous pressures exerted in 12-meter racing, and new understanding of getting more power from the wind.

It is that last benefit which most interested one fascinated spectator representing the Carter administration and the administration's concern with energy.

As he watched Courageous, Australia, and the swarm of spectator boats from the bridge of the U.S. Coast Guard ship Vigorous, Assistant Undersecretary of Transportation Michael Downey said that the Cup races are a lesson in how reliable the wind is as a natural energy source.

Another sailor coming away from the Cup races destined to surpass the \$5-million dollar 12-meter is neither oxidized nor surprised: it was Alan Bond, the ever cheerful head of the Australian racing syndicate.

Bond's boat lost this year. Yet he promised to return to Newport in 1980, to launch a new and tougher challenge.

He said one of the great successes for the 12-meters this year was the tremendous cooperation between the three challenging countries, Australia, France and Sweden. He hoped this cooperation will grow — along with the interest already shown by Britain, Germany, and Italy for a 1980 challenge.

Australia's main problem, said Bond, was that "it was not until we met Courageous that we found we didn't have enough boat speed." The way to lure international challengers to higher standards is to race 12-meters more often, he said. He called on other countries to spend the money and "make the effort to have e. 12-meter regatta at least 12 months before each America's Cup race."

Politics damage scientific fraternity

By Robert C. Cowen

Speaking as immediate past president of the American Chemical Society, Nohel prize-winner Glenn Seaborg has urged the scientific community, with its traditional internationalism, to take a lead

Research notebook

"In strengthening the prospect for a cooperative and peaceful world."

It's a noble thought often voiced by leading scientists.

But Seaborg should look to the political realities. Scientists themselves have begun to erode their internationalism in a way that

ICUSU acted after the International Union of Geological Sciences, another ICSU member, tossed out Taiwan last year. At that time, critics of the action warned that allowing politics to intrude over the universality of science and its freedom from politics.

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home

Monday, September 26, 1977

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



Gloxinia and leaf pattern, 100 percent cotton

Fabrics of the '70s: Floral prints

By Evelyn Radcliffe
Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

San Francisco

Of all the handsome home furnishings seen at Designer's Row during the recent Home Furnishings Market, fabrics were perhaps the most dramatic.

Bold and ethnic prints as well as flamboyant florals splashed brilliant color everywhere. Many major fabric mills seem to have gathered colorful bouquets and translated them into yardage.

But it is the floral prints — in small or large patterns — that receive the most attention. Like those in the Stroheim and Romann "Chelsea Flower Collection," for example. Inspiration for these dazzling fabrics was the 60-year-old Chelsea Flower Show in London. With all designs on 100 percent cotton, the collection includes large-scale drawings of gladioli and leaves; a mass of delphinium and sweet peas; a timeless array of old-fashioned favorites such as hollyhocks and geraniums (on chintz), and huge bouquets of daisies and iris.



Daisies and Iris print fabric

If grass will grow on concrete it will grow in your front garden!

By Peter Tonge

Marysville, Ohio

If you think your soil is too poor to grow a good lawn, consider for a moment the experience of Mr. and Mrs. W.H. Behrens of this picturesque little town:

"For 10 years they grew a showcase front lawn on solid concrete."

Back in 1965 the publisher of the Marysville Journal Tribune agreed that research scientists with O.M. Scott & Sons could use their front yard for a lawn-on-concrete demonstration. It proved to be an outstanding success.

In a move that startled lawn-growing neighbors from up to three blocks away, the Behrens' front yard was covered with four inches of concrete — lot line to the line.

It wasn't quite the crazy idea it at first seemed because the Scott's researchers had grown lawn on concrete, macadam, and other hard surfaces for several years, but now they wanted to expose it to the real world, so to speak.

Turf overlay

After the concrete had set hard, three-quarter-inch turf was laid down and fertilized. Each year the lawn received five applications of fertilizer (one more than the recommended application for a soil-grown lawn). However, the lawn had to be watered several times a week — every day during hot, dry weather.

The lawn flourished, and when it was finally taken up two years ago, the original three-quarter-inch sod had become 3 inches thick at old roots had decayed to form additional soil for the new roots.



Around the Garden

Photo by W.H. Behrens

Not clear where the concrete lay off and the soil-base began. On concrete, however, I was able to lift up the thick sod, so I could a carpet in my own home.

As mentioned earlier, however, the point of all this is to underscore that a lawn can be grown on any type of soil, given a reasonable amount of sun.

In the weeks ahead, as the weather begins to cool off, some of the best opportunities exist for building up the quality of your soil-based lawn. You can readily make sure that you have a greener lawn in the fall, a stronger one going into winter, and one that greens up early in the spring.

To accomplish this, lawns in the cooler regions of the world should be fertilized

in late summer and again in late fall. Food that is not needed for immediate growth is stored by the roots for an early and vigorous burst into life come spring.

Best for seeding

This parlor of the year is also the best for seed germination. So, thicken up your lawn now by overseeding with your preferred grass type of half the rate for establishing a new lawn. In other words, if the seed package indicates it will cover 1,000 square feet, it contains enough seed for twice that area of overseeding.

Start by mowing the lawn as short as possible without scalping the higher spots. Now, using a power rake or hand rake, remove thatch and grass clippings so that new seed can reach the exposed soil. Scratch the soil surface a little to make a better seed bed.

Seed with a fertilizer that is rich in phosphorus to stimulate root growth, and follow that by sowing the seed. (A spreader will assure even distribution of both seed and fertilizer.) Until new grass seedlings are up to moving height it will be necessary to water the lawn twice each week during dry weather. Soak well, to ensure deep water penetration.

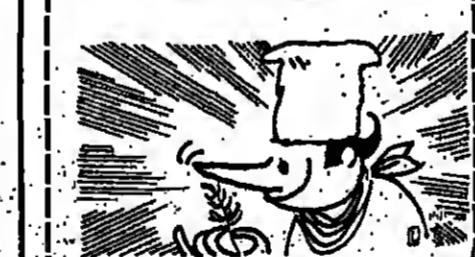
Set the mower to 1½ inches and mow regularly, removing the clippings should they threaten to smother the seedlings. Fertilize again 4 to 6 weeks after planting. Never use a weed killer when sowing seed as the two are not compatible.

Finally, save all the nitrogen-rich lawn clippings and dig them lightly into the soil of your flower and vegetable garden beds. This way you will get double value out of your lawn fertilizer. It's well worth the effort.

MONITOR RECIPE

The unique flavor of fresh tarragon adds a great deal to sauces, meats, and salads and it has a special affinity for chicken.

Here is a recipe that depends mostly on the fresh herb. It can be made with dried tarragon, of course, but is not as good. If you must use the dry, substitute 1 level teaspoon crushed tarragon. However, this herb is at its best used fresh or when frozen or preserved in vinegar.



Sautéed chicken with tarragon

2 chicken breasts, boned
1/4 cup flour seasoned with
1/4 teaspoon salt and
1/4 teaspoon pepper
2 tablespoons fresh tarragon,
chopped (or 1 teaspoon dried)
1/4 cup cream

Wipe chicken thoroughly with damp towel, then dry. Dredge evenly in seasoned flour. Melt butter in skillet and sauté over medium heat until golden on both sides, about 10 minutes or less. Don't cook too long or chicken will not be tender.

Melt butter in side of pan, add a pat of butter, if necessary, and add tarragon, mix with butter. Cook about 2 minutes more, turning chicken to coat if well with tarragon. Remove chicken to platter, turn heat to low and add cream. Deglaze pan by stirring cream to remove all bits from bottom of pan. Pour cream with bits of tarragon over chicken.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, September 26, 1977

Biarritz on the cheap

By Jeffrey Robinson

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Biarritz, France

There was a time when the only people who came here were kings, queens, barons, dukes, earls, and generally anyone over age 85. In those days Biarritz was, to say the least, very quiet.

After the war, when royalty dried up somewhat, Biarritz got even quieter, if that is possible. Then came the 1960s and someone started a surfboard down the beach and teenagers from the Basque country brought new life to the town.

Because it is a beach resort which is anything but mild in the winter, the season in Biarritz is confined to July and August. For the most part only the native French, with some wealthy Parisians and a few Britons, seem to find their way here. Too many people on the Continent still consider Biarritz to be passé.

You get there from Paris by car or train, heading for Bordeaux and then down the coast toward the Spanish border. There is a daily plane service from Paris only, although there is summer service from other French cities.

Biarritz is snuggled up against the Pyrenees with sand beaches, a strong trestle surf, good food, cheaper prices than the Riviera, and a Basque spirit which is friendlier than anything you will find in Paris. The kids with their surfboards hang out at The Wall, while the non-surfers congregate at the Old Port or the Miramar restaurants for the traditional three-hour



Biarritz is not so passé after all

will work out generally a bit cheaper and better, too. If the elderly lady in the pension is only cooking for you and her family, taking full pension means you must return at lunchtime, and that will hamper your sightseeing.

The problem with restaurants in Biarritz is they tend to be overpriced, and it is hard to find one that is exceptional. The local Basque specialties are usually listed à la carte and include fish soup, grilled Dorade, poulet Basque (a variation on a baked chicken), and piparrada, the local answer to vegetable stew.

The latter consists of tomatoes, peppers, and other vegetables all cooked together, ending up on plates in the Basque country the way French fries do at American drive-ins. It gets

country-side easily by car or public transportation, but be sure to find out about return schedules if you are on a bus or train or you might end up spending the night in the country.

Head for Arcangues, an old Basque village about two miles from Biarritz to find out what this region used to be all about.

Bayonne is the biggest city in the area — a French city where the Basques have made their mark. The "Fêtes De Bayonne" are made up of bull fighting, cow racing, fist fights, aingling, and fireworks. It is the French answer to San Fermín in Pamplona, and it is held the first week in August. The local fete in Biarritz is calmer and takes place in mid-August.

There is horseback riding at the Manège Peccot at 25 Rue Lavigier, and motor scooters can be rented at Maison Arrosaguy, at 5 Avenue Victor Hugo. Concerts are not frequent, but they do exist.

You can explore the surrounding towns and

The fiefdom of Sark — a 16th-century island

By Guernsey Le Pelley

In the English Channel there are a cluster of romantic, enchanted islands, that many outside Great Britain may not know of: Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, Herm, and Jethou are so abundantly favored by nature, so tame in climate, and enjoy a life so close to the 16th century that the word "enchanted" is not used extravagantly.

On Guernsey the streets are still winding,

narrow, and narrow. Tourists find the brick and stone streets inviting and full of intriguing souvenirs at moderate prices.

Castle Cornet stands guard over the harbor. King John ordered its construction in 1204. It dominates the waterfront in St. Peter Port and stands a mark of endurance on a tow of age-long beauty.

On all the islands there are an abundance of rocky coves and sandy beaches. The pressures of a modern, casino-equipped resort are thankfully missing.

Of all the islands, Sark is the most unique. It is an ancient, fatigued island, with Seigneur Michael Beaumont as the reigning lord. Together with his vivacious wife, Diana, they help keep

the fiefdom an oasis of tranquility in a chaotic world. There are no cars, factories, airplanes, or even insects! — In short, no pollution. But there are birds, butterflies, and flowers in abundance.

The island rises into a rocky plateau, 800 feet above the water, so a trip to the beach is somewhat vertical. But thousands of visitors find their way to Sark each year even though there are only five tiny hotels. Rooms in private houses help in welcoming the traveler.

Evidently people do not keep going back to Sark for excitement, only for peace of mind. "Although," the seigneur admits, "there is the legend of buried treasure, which is guarded by the century-old ghost of a former seigneur, Pierre Le Pelley."

It may be truly that these tiny places, in order to exist, need to have the world come knocking at their door in order to survive economically. But it is true that Sark needs the world. It is even more true that the world needs Sark, and all it has to give.

Guernsey Le Pelley is The Christian Science Monitor's editorial cartoonist. He says he may be the only cartoonist whose family items are anciently from the Channel Islands — with the possible exception of Paul Revere, that is.

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arts/books

Child-tested picture books from Europe

By Eric Baker
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON Discovering beautiful picture books for children is rather like coming upon hidden treasure, because they are seldom available in all their great variety even in the best known bookshops.

Following are a few that have been thoroughly tried and tested by myself, my children, and grandchildren. They have withstand the test and remain thumbmed with much use but with content unburnished by time.

Take, for instance, *Johnny Crow's Garden*, a masterpiece by Leslie Brooke first published in 1903 and still as fresh as ever (Warne, £1.95).

The story, written in rhyme about the birds and animals assembling in Johnny Crow's garden. Every opening offers one of Leslie Brooke's inimitable line or color illustrations.

It was surely a complete stroke of genius that inspired Pat Hutchins to give us *Rosie's Walk* (Bodley Head, £1.80). Rosie, the hen, purposefully sets out on a walk unaware that she is being stalked by a hungry fox. The fox encounters all sorts of near disasters so that Rosie reaches home safely, still totally oblivious of the existence of her pursuer. This simple but profound tale is so clearly illustrated that it takes only 32 words to tell.

Another great favorite is Eric Carle's *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* (Hamish Hamilton, £1.80). Here an endearing and colorful caterpillar eats his way through the week as well as through the cunningly devised holes in the pages of this book until he can eat no more. Then he changes into a cocoon from which emerges, on the last page, a beautiful butterfly with resplendent wings. A book that bears constant repetition.

In our family nursery, rhymes began right from the start and one of the collections we never tire of is *Lavender's Blue* (Oxford, £5)

compiled by Kathleen Lines and illustrated by Harold Jones. It is a comprehensive collection of well-known and lesser known nursery rhymes, alphabet and number rhymes beautifully set out with a picture for each number. Cradle songs, nursery games, story rhymes, riddles are most sympathetically illustrated in gentle colors and black and white, in a way that has lasting appeal.

A more recent collection, destined to be with us for a long time, is Nirola Bayley's *Book of Nursery Rhymes* (Cape, £1.95). Illustrated with full color paintings of truly amazing detail which many a child of four or five will return to again and again.

Another deservedly popular book is Graham Oakley's *The Church Mouse* (Macmillan, £1.50), a humorous account of how Arthur, the Church Mouse and his thousands of mouse associates, helped to keep their English parish church alive spirit and spunk, in complete harmony with Samson, a meek and plump ginger cat who lives in peace with all God's creatures. How they outwit a marauder who tries to steal the church silver is told in word and picture that gives lasting pleasure to adult as well as to child audiences; a most important quality when reading aloud.

For sheer charm and gaiety there is little to surpass Quentin Blake's *Patrick* (Cape, £1.85) about an Irishman who buys an old willo and plays till fishes fly, trees bear colored fruit, bird's feathers turn to brighter hues, children dance, and an old man is cured of his ailments. It is a comic extravaganza so appropriate to Quentin Blake's aplomb and lively drawings.

Visitors to London especially would enjoy an unusual picture book by one of England's most prolific book illustrators, Charles Keeping. Entitled *Richard* (Oxford, 2.25) it describes in pictures a day in the life of a famous police horse. Through the eyes of this highly individualistic and painstaking craftsman, we see Richard being groomed and led in the early morning,

laugh to control crowds, taking part in a royal procession and then in the evening enjoying a rubdown, a drink and a feed before he retires to his warm straw bed.

One of the lovely picture books which children enjoy in France and which gives us much taken by a book which won the German Picture Book Award namely *Wir Kennen Nicht Zusammen Machen* by Friedrich Karl Waechter (Parabel, £3.90). With delightful illustrations he tells how a young piglet, a hedgehog, and a tiny fish each gets bored with its own company and discovers that making friends and helping each other can be a source of fun and entertainment.

Lastly everyone of all ages will enjoy Katherina Schabernak by Wilfried Blecher and Wolfgang Schröder (Blitter, £3.20). This is an endlessly amusing series of verses and color illustrations on opposite pages. Each page is divided into three sections making it possible to produce 8,000 curious combinations of verse and picture.

Eric Baker is the founder of a London bookshop specializing in books for children in English, French, and German.

'Adele H.' curiously involving'

By David Sissons

"The Story of Adele H." is Francois Truffaut's ingenious attempt at a love story with only one character.

Adele H. is the daughter of France's most famous writer, who stands for Hugo—but, as usual, celebrity doesn't guarantee happiness. A bright and attractive young woman who could charm any man who wished, our heroine has fallen fanatically in love with an English soldier, who doesn't care one way or the other.

Dreaming hopeless dreams of wedded bliss, she pursues her quarry from Guernsey to Nova Scotia to Barbados. Along the way she wildly professes her passion, conjures up strange tricks, and resorts to any means she can imagine (fair or foul) to capture the lieutenant's heart.

In the end, she victimizes only herself. Lieutenant Plasson, the other half of the ill-fated couple, stands defiantly to one side—a cardboard figure whose role is to be chased, not to be caught, or understood or even sympathized with.

Like its heroine the film "Adele" is brusque and busy. It doesn't try to win you over, it confronts you, caresses you, draws you into its special world. You're not likely to fall in love with it. But you can't help admiring its energy, intensity, and originality.

Fortunately, Truffaut is

DON'T MISS THIS NOVEL

"Short Visit to Ergen," BY E. M. OSBORN

"Couldn't put it down," says one delighted reader. "Read it in one sitting. Fascinating beyond words." Look forward to reading it soon.

Yes, *Short Visit to Ergen* is good; this delighted reader found it very good, even three times! (How many of today's novels can stand to be read even twice?) Says another reader of *Ergen*, "I'm going to get hold of a whole lot more of this."

Another book of haunting beauty and harmony is *Voices* by Marie Morel, illustrated by Mila Boutan (Grasset Jeunesse, £3.40). This is a simple poem illustrated with varied techniques—collage, drawing, and painting—describing the sky from

the sea to nightfall beginning with pigeons and finishing with stars.

And then to Germany where we are very much taken by a book which won the German Picture Book Award namely *Wir Kennen Nicht Zusammen Machen* by Friedrich Karl Waechter (Parabel, £3.90). With delightful illustrations he tells how a young piglet, a hedgehog, and a tiny fish each gets bored with its own company and discovers that making friends and helping each other can be a source of fun and entertainment.

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Eric Baker is the founder of a London bookshop specializing in books for children in English, French, and German.

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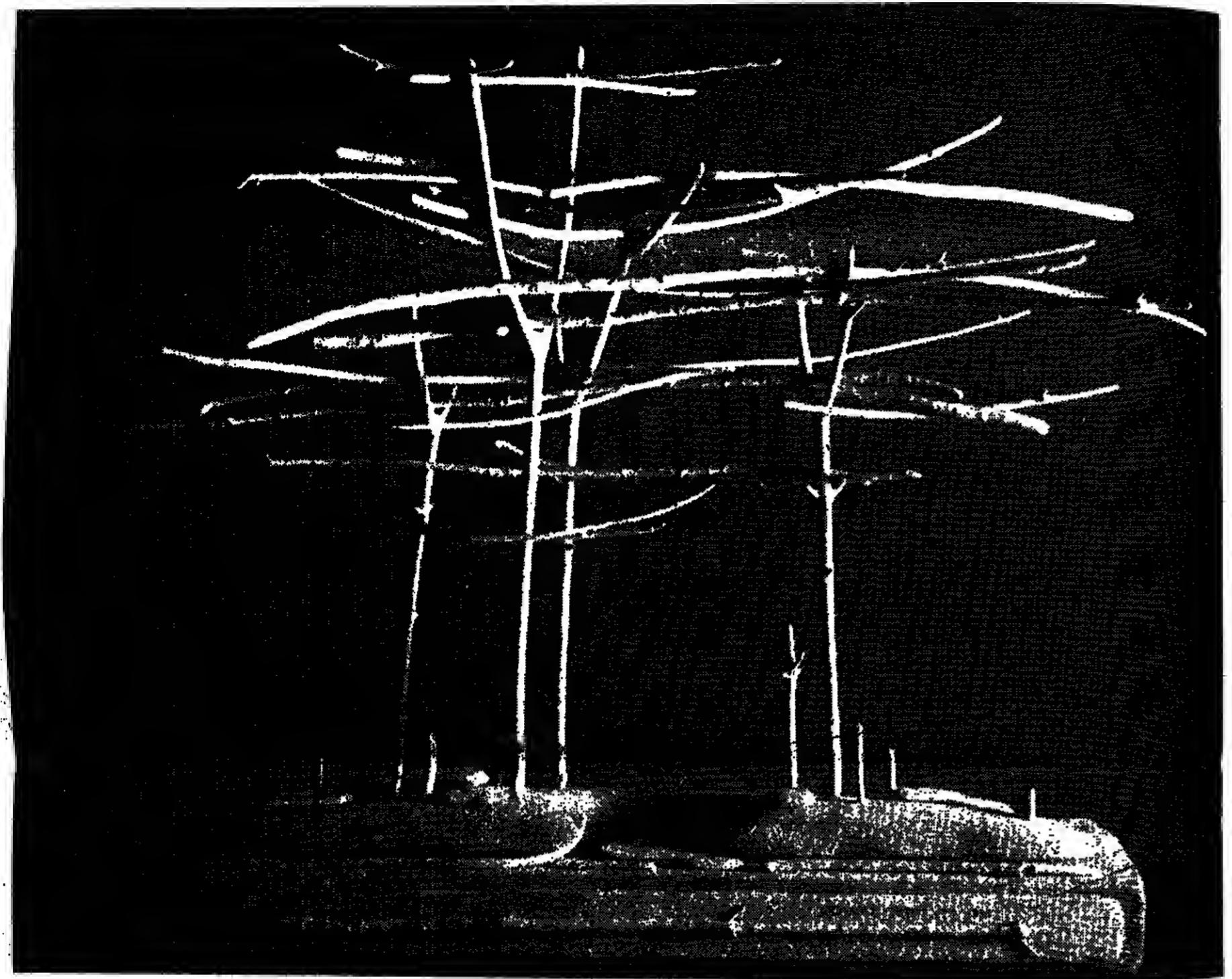
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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



'Grove #3' 1975: Wood assemblage by Hubert Long

Portent

Rosless daw, disturbed like dust,
Fallen cundomibus grandeur,
Fluid air that taunts parched ground,
Braith that shows in warmer air,
Braho the clear invisible!

Wafting, wafting, air's extremity —
Now, the smaller movements pass us;
Movement now, where movement lacked.
Now the wind in phantoms!

Shapes abrupt, observed concretely
Specters formed, a new-turned road —
Groping off from fact, to fact
In ethereal unfamiliar.

And now the glare, of filtered sun
Dispels delicious doubtful.

Edele Cohen

A work one could inhabit

I sometimes see a work of art I wish I could inhabit. I am not content just to look at it, analyze it, admire it, but I want to enter it, to understand it from the inside out rather than the outside in. This impulse is not a response to "participatory art," which deliberately engages the viewer by inviting him to touch it, hold it, play with it, sit on it; rearrange it, or whatever, but to enter that captures without trying.

"Grove No. 3" by the Australian born artist Hubert Long is such a work. It is almost abstract, although it depicts the alpine landscape, snow-capped mountains, and a frozen lake. The artist uses a minimal amount of glue and hand-made dowels, with only an occasional and unavoidable metal pin. The parts are joined so delicately and unobtrusively that one barely notices, and the whole looks as self-supporting as a mobile or an arch. This illusion reinforces the impression of immateriality, and the work actually appears more two-dimensional than three, like a drawing or even a weaving suspended in space. This is a grove which the mind enters, not to wander but to contemplate in a spirit of infinite repose.

Artistically it reminds one of a drawing in space, its lines sketched in two rather than pencil or ink. Mr. Long finds his bits of wood "on the beach, in the woods, and in the hills" around East Hampton on Long Island where he lives. He does not call it driftwood but

Bells

The earth's round rim
now summerswept
breasts
the branching
green leaf trees:
nest
the fluttering
soft-winged birds
and
sing
an evening lullabye

the
ever-circling
endless song
rings
high in the hills
and
deep in the meadows
the
song of earth
a song of promise
within
the chapel of the bells

Diana Loercher
Yvette Abrams

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, September 26, 1977

Tu Fu's compassion for mankind

*By the city wall a flute mourns the dusk,
Over the village market a few wings pass . . .*

wrote Tu Fu in the 8th century. To many he was the premier poet of China but so neglected by his contemporaries that he was not even included in an anthology till a century or more after his passing.

The nature of poetry greatly interested the Chinese. In the course of their history the art has been defined in a plethora of ways, ranging from profound analyses to the bland complacency of the great Emperor Ch'ien Lung who reigned with conspicuous success from 1736 to 1756 and who asserted that "poetry is the expression of the writer's loyalty to the throne and plentys towards his parents. Poetry that does not fulfill these functions I do not count as poetry at all." As he was a Manchu, and an alien dynasty, this should not be imputed to the Chinese.

His family, scholar-officials, landowners, gentry distinguished by literary achievements, provided him with a privileged background, in spite of which this genius could never pass the civil service examinations which led to a proper career for a man of position. He was only able to secure minor and peripheral appointments at court, a disappointing arrangement.

Yet the time must have partly mitigated the bitterness of this situation for him, when in 755 a great rebellion, led by a man of Turkeic extraction, An Lu-shan, tore the whole fabric of the dynasty in half. The usurper seized power, the Emperor fled, and his favorite, Yang Kuei-fei, was put to death in circumstances which inspired many a famous ballad. Though the resistance was eventually put down and the house of T'ang resumed its sway for another century and a half, it was never the same again; its glory had departed.

Tu Fu, conservative and loyalist, proclaimed his allegiance to his sovereign during these convulsive events, even though he notoriously disapproved of the excesses which had brought the country to this pass. Himself a refugee, he commemorated the imperial days in verses which speak (for instance) of the bodies of those who had starved or frozen to death being found on the roads in the capital while within the vermillion gates the court banqueted. He described the appearance of Ch'ang-an after the revolt, the houses shut up, the pleasure gardens empty, the revels ended. The whole nature of the city had changed.

Chinese poetry, sensitive, not sentimental, is much more given to under than over statement. Usually short, as in the seven or five character lines of the brief lyrics, it embraces a theme with quick imagery, like the tick of a bird's wing. The language allows great play of rhyme and tone, which in the hands of verbal tricksters often degenerates into mere verbiage, but which a real poet could employ with the most subtle shades.

The capital is in ruins, all that is left are the hills and rivers;/ In spring its streets lie deep in grass and trees;/ In sorrow for the times the very flowers are weeping/ And the birds flutter in grief at the sad farewell./ The smoke of beacons has burnt for three months on end./ Letters from home are worth three thousand pieces of gold."

Today the Communists claim him as their own, a poor man, weeping for the suffering masses of China. However, he was not poor, though he spoke in a way which the Chinese themselves very well understood — as a man living in a straw hut and wearing rags. Nor was his grief for the "wretched" in any way unique among poets. When he speaks of the meager hospitality he can offer, that was a convention. Undoubtedly he had his difficulties during the rebellion but they were transitory.

This is not important. What matters was his compassion for mankind, and his great genius in his winged art, which with a few luminous and trenchant lines can conjure up a universal scene, lifting the heart.

A bank of fine grass and light breeze
A tall-masted solitary night boat;
Stars descend over the vast wild plain;
Floating, floating, what am I like?
Between earth and sky, a gull alone.

Enid Saunders Caudlin

The Monitor's religious article

You can be happy

Are you happy? You should be! Because happiness, with its accompanying zest for life, is evidence that you feel the very presence of good with you always. The genuinely happy person manifests an inner peace that comes from acquainting oneself with God, divine Love.

"Happiness," writes Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, "is spiritual, born of Truth and Love." Happiness is our divine right. Not only is each of us entitled to happiness, but we are capable of achieving it now, today, by understanding man's true identity as the spiritual reflection of God. The inspired account of creation in the first chapter of the Bible declares, "God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." By basing thought on the illness of good, we can expect a larger enjoyment of happiness, poise, and serenity in our lives.

Are sadness, dark recollections, self-punishing accusations, etched on our faces?

These do not belong to God's beloved child!

And we should not allow them to deprive us

of our rightful expression of happiness,

health, and a sense of well-being. Truth en-

ables us to triumph over these aggressive

suggestions. No error can long endure

against a determined stand for one's true

selfhood as the idea of God, divine Mind.

Christ Jesus put it simply when he told his

followers, "The kingdom of God is within

you." By knowing this and holding good in

consciousness, we will naturally reject all

disturbing suggestions of evil and inevitably

enjoy increasing happiness.

We can wipe the slate clean of sorrowful

memories. Mrs. Eddy points out, "Truth

makes a new creature, in whom old things

pass away and 'all things are become

new.' If this may not happen all at once,

but each day we can drop one more unhappy

thought from our consciousness and ex-

perience.

Dismiss all that was negative to the past!

It has no power over the present. Each day is

new! The laws of Truth and Love enable us

to give up serving any belief in a power apart

from God with its arguments of self-condam-

nation, smoldering resentment over real

or fancied wrongs, fears, regrets. No one of

these has power to affect our present ex-

perience unless we hold on to it. No one has

any basis in reality, for in truth man is and

always has been God's cherished reflection,

held securely in Love, incapable of wrongdoing

or suffering. God's reflection, man, has

never been touched by material circum-

stances or influenced by evil suggestions. Nor

has he ever been a target for hate.

There is in reality no negative power, no

evil intelligence, to control or manipulate

God's man, the spiritual expression of divine

Mind. Divine Mind — the only Mind there is —

knows nothing of materiality or the human

concept of time. There is no unhappy past in

divinity. The counterfeited record must be seen

as having no place in Mind or in man's true

consciousness as Mind's spiritual likeness.

Be assured! If you let the light of Truth

outshine the mental shadows, you will find

yourself radiating health and happiness.

*Science and Health with Key in the Scriptures, p. 87; **Genesis 1:31; †Luke 17:21;

††Science and Health, p. 201.

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OPINION AND...

Charles W. Yost

Mideast dangers

Washington

There is a strong possibility that the choice between peace or another war in the Middle East may be made within the next two or three months.

Not that war would be likely to break out at the end of that time, nor even for a considerable time thereafter, but that the momentum toward a peaceful settlement which has been built up since 1973 could be decisively interrupted, the hopeful atmosphere so painstakingly cultivated by Secretary Kissinger and now President Carter could be poisoned and dispelled, and the present opportunity to move from war to peace could be irretrievably lost without most outsiders, even perhaps most inhabitants of the region, realizing what had happened.

Four United States administrations since 1967 have understood that a prolongation of the Arab-Israeli conflict might not only be ultimately fatal to their friend and protege Israel, but also threaten the security of the United States and its European and Japanese allies. Another Middle Eastern war could interrupt or seriously curtail oil supplies essential to their economic welfare, or it could lead to a nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Ever since President Sadat in February, 1971, publicly declared his willingness to make

For these reasons four presidents since Lyndon Johnson have sought, by different tactics but with the same end in mind, to bring about a peaceful settlement. President Carter and Secretary Vance have pursued that goal assiduously for eight months, their first purpose being to reconvene the Geneva conference where the parties could sit down face to face and negotiate directly. Such a negotiation has been a principal Israeli objective for three decades, one which the Arabs have at last come to accept.

No sooner, however, had this obstacle seemed to be overcome than each party, while solemnly professing its willingness to negotiate "without conditions," has proceeded publicly to describe its position on critical issues in such hard and fast terms as to cause the other side to question whether the conference would be of any use. The whole atmosphere has changed substantially for the worse. Conversations in Washington and New York this month may be the last chance to avoid a total collapse of near-term prospects for peace.

How has this tragic deterioration come about? Largely through an accidental inconsistency in linking between Arab and Israeli documents of the regime, realizing what had hap-

pened. These prospects have been drastically diminished by the Israeli elections last May which brought to power, almost accidentally and more on domestic than foreign policy grounds, a leader passionately committed to positions which are incompatible with a peaceful settlement with the Arabs; that is, the absorption into Israel of the whole of the West Bank of the Jordan and a refusal to accept any sort of Palestinian state.

Some have held that Mr. Begin, when confronted by the responsibilities of power, would compromise some of these extreme positions. He will have a further opportunity to do so in the conversations between foreign ministers in

Washington and New York this month and next, but his public attitude so far offers little ground for such hope. Reports of the new Foreign Minister Dayan is bringing with him suggest that it asks of the Arabs all that Israel wants but denies the Arabs what they insist in return.

Looking deeper, one gets the impression that the problem is that, psychologically and emotionally, Mr. Begin is not living in 1977 but partly in Biblical times, when the "land of Israel" was larger than it could conceivably be 2,000 years later, and partly in the late 1960s, when Israel triumphed easily over its weak and divided Arab adversaries.

Such a posture is out of date. On the one hand, it gives substance to the long-standing Arab claim that the Israelis are incurably expansionist, that they will never be satisfied territorially. On the other, it fails to take account of the ascending curve of Arab power, which is certain to overtake and pass that of Israel in the not too distant future.

Is there anything that can still be done to retrieve the situation, to restore the climate of negotiation and compromise before it is too late? That will be the subject of the following article.

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My brother was an only child

Melvin Maddocks

"Brothers Are Separate People," otherwise known as BASP, is a nonprofit organization dedicated to resisting the glib idea that having a brother explains everything about a man's personality. The president of BASP — a jolly sort with three brothers and two sisters — likes to say that the first time he heard the phrase "brother-rivalry" it sounded like the name of a motorboat race to him.

In the Camelot days when a BASP member stumbled across one of those articles about how hard it was to be Bobby Kennedy when there was Jack, and how hard it was to be Jack when there was Joe Jr., he used to turn the pages with record speed, eyes averted. Now another brother act is on the Washington (and Plains) scene, and the BASPs, eyes averted, have waited patiently for all the brother-analysis to blow away, like colostrum balls in Georgia.

Not a chance. And so this time the BASPs have passed a resolution that, reluctantly, in the cause of catch-fighting, they can no longer abstain from the subject of Jimmy and Elton Carter.

A younger brother, all the brother-analysis assume, has two principal choices:

1. To follow in the footsteps of his older brother as he can.

2. To do pretty much the opposite.

doesn't dare to be seen working.

And yet, like Jimmy, Billy has been a hard worker, the BASPs note, putting in 12-hour days on those Carter peanuts. Like Jimmy, he has *The Smile* — as well, apparently, as the shraddish toughness that operates behind the smile. Like Jimmy, he aspires to private candor in public. "I'll never lie to you" could be Billy's motto as well.

In fact, Billy can be read as his own kind of populist, the BASPs suggest. If Jimmy wears sneakers, Billy wears sweatshirts. Jimmy walking to the inauguration and Billy propping his feet on anything that will support them — isn't this one and the same image, with the un-written descriptive line, "I don't put on airs"?

So, with equal glibness, the BASPs analyze their way into "proving" that Jimmy and Billy are actually as alike as two peanuts in a shell. Will the world get their point? That in either case poor Billy is left with only two options. Whatever he does or says, he will face the awful prospect of hearing: "How like his brother!" Or: "How unlike his brother!"

Like all brothers hog-tied by the sibling rivalry in the minds of beholders, Billy Carter will simply have to repeat the BASPs' slogan until he and everybody else believe the old, profound joke: "My brother was an only child."

Readers write

On South Africa's helpfulness, Taiwan, trade unionism

In spite of the bad name that South Africa is receiving from the world press, occasions do arise when it does treat its hosts — black Africa neighbors with a fair amount of decency. Here are a few examples:

Recently four South African rescue teams flew to the Chingapu coal mine in Mozambique to assist with the rescue after a large number of miners had been trapped following an explosion. This was the second time in a year that South African rescue teams had helped the mine.

Also recently South Africa's railway company aided Swaziland by sending two senior officials to that country to assist with the administration and control of its railways.

During Botswana's brief independence anniversary last year, Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko's aircraft left the runway and stuck in the mud. Aircraft engineers came from Johannesburg to get the aircraft airborne.

Since the Angolan civil war and the damaged Benguela railway line, South Africa has opened its harbors for the export of Zambia's and Zimbabwe's copper.

South Africa has repaired the Kamata Airport railway line and installed new signals

so that the Mozambique harbor can still be used as Transvaal's export harbor.

South Africa built Malawi's new capital and also helped establish its radio service.

Serumpondo, the diamond-rich region of northern black African countries, includes Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, Rhodesia, Mauritius and Seychelles.

Mining machinery from South Africa goes to Zambia, and South Africans hold important posts in Zambian copper mines.

Lesotho, on the borders of South Africa, has several times had its lands ploughed by South African farmers. Furthermore, agricultural implements, as well as large quantities of grain, have been given to that country.

Many students in black Africa study through the University of South Africa.

Cape Town, South Africa

R. E. Lurman

Tehran, Iran

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

U.S. politics, September 1977

discussions of the subject. The ability of Watergate to deliver votes to Democrats has not regained a comfortable position in the Congress and in state legislatures and city halls in the midterm elections of 1978, but its chances have ceased to be a major factor in American politics.

The merits of the Lance affair are beside the point so far as practical politics are concerned. Mr. Lance may be as innocent as a babe in glory. He may be bound guilty of probable improprieties before we hear the end of this affair. But the important political fact is that since June of this year the Lance affair has been a daily front-page story in almost every newspaper and a top subject of mention in almost every news broadcast. The volume of attention given to the subject has been immense. It has even been front-page news overseas. The London Daily Telegraph gave a top two-column headline to the story of Mr. Lance's first day's testimony before the Senate committee.

The net effect of the matter is to cancel out past Republican misdeeds as a usable political weapon. Mr. Lance's tribulations, no matter how unjustified they may be, have been used to neutralize Watergate and used most skillfully.

I do not know who the Republican mastermind is behind the use of the Lance affair. Perhaps it was nothing more than Mr. Nader's own sense of political fairness. But with or without conscious planning the Lance affair has been brilliantly used to Republican advantage — and Democratic disadvantage.

Mr. Nader's staunchly loyalist Republicans has paid off handsomely for his party. He has been vigorous in spurning any tendency in the American press to be soft on Democrats. He has made it impossible for any so inclined to take it easy on Mr. Lance.

Only great big political stories like Teng and Dome and Watergate do this. And it is precisely this volume of attention in the subject which has been manna from heaven for the previously downhearted American Republican Party.

In one sense Mr. Lance has himself been a victim of Watergate. The American press in general was accused during the Watergate era of being unfair to Republicans. Once the Democrats were installed in Washington it became necessary for American editors and reporters to prove that they could just as critical of Demmerals. If any editor or political reporter lagged in the search for Lance misdeeds he was greeted back into the effort by New York Times columnist William Safire, who has reminded them regularly since June that here was a possible scandal in a Democratic administration and what were they doing about it.

Mr. Safire's staunchly loyalist Republicans has paid off handsomely for his party. He has been vigorous in spurning any tendency in the American press to be soft on Democrats. He has made it impossible for any so inclined to take it easy on Mr. Lance.

It means that from now on the Carter administration will be judged by its own record, not by the record of its Republican predecessors. Meanwhile it is merely a political fact that President Carter was not politically astute enough to foresee the damage which the Lance affair could do to his administration. He should have seen it coming and cut his losses before he had suffered three months of damaging publicity.

Carter's prudence in Peking

By Ray S. Cline

The first success in American conduct of foreign affairs since Jimmy Carter took over national security and foreign policy staff structure and political spokesman of the radical wing of the Democratic Party vigorously pressed the U.S. to curry favor with Peking by jettisoning its long-standing guarantees of the security of the flourishing noncommunist society of 17 million Chinese in the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan. Their view — the conventional wisdom reflected in briefings to Congress and press for many weeks before Vance's trip — was voiced most authoritatively in a speech on Aug. 16 by the hero of the tender East Coast Democrats, Sen. Ted Kennedy, in a last-minute effort to stampede the President into breaking off U.S. relations and abrogating the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 with the Chinese government on Taiwan.

The good news is that nothing naive and foolish was done. This may seem to be a small triumph, but we should be grateful for it. After the fiasco of advertising grandiose plans for disarmament in Moscow, final peace settlements in the Middle East, and one-man, one-vote schemes in Africa, doing nothing much at all in Peking and doing it very well provides a welcome turn toward caution and realism in the Carter camp.

The President's own political prudence and the quiet competence of Vance and his senior Foreign Service deputy, Philip Habib, permitted the negotiations to go smoothly and yet avoid making the short-sighted concessions that were urged upon the President as geographically clever maneuvers to buy cooperation from the Chinese Communist dictatorship of Hu Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping.

In these circumstances it is hard to find a convincing argument for consigning to the

PRC's tender mercies 17 million Chinese who want to govern themselves. The real victory in Peking was that Carter did not buy the line widely touted before Vance's visit: "We owe the PRC Taiwan." Not only did he come to see that there was no real pressure on the U.S. to act except from his own staff, but he also realized that his highly popular policy of stressing human rights in international affairs could not stand the shock of betraying our Chinese friends on Taiwan who are unanimous in opposing being subjected to communist dictatorship and are building a much freer, open society in the Republic of China.

As former Undersecretary of State George Ball said, what the U.S. had to lose in placating Peking was "self-respect." This is a commodity that no great power can neglect. Upon Vance's return the President said "a decision about China . . . is undoubtedly going to be well in the future and it will be based on what I consider to be the best interests of our country." These are prudent words, preserving American self-respect and credibility abroad. They signal a welcome turn of the Carter foreign policy process toward realism.

Mr. Cline, former deputy director of the CIA, is executive director of studies at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

No case for the neutron bomb

By Pat Holt

so destructive that the President of the United States (the only person who can legally give the order to fire them) would be reluctant to do so without destroying property.

This would present an attractive temptation to a government with a Dr. Strangelove mentality. It could wipe out a defending army along with so much of the residual population as seemed necessary and then move in to take over the enemy's farms and factories intact.

One of the arguments made for the bomb, though not carried to this extreme, is precisely that because the bomb is more discriminatory, the limitations against using it in the heat of combat would be less, and therefore the credibility of the bomb would be greater. This argument is made with particular reference to the enemy's farms and factories intact.

The people who make this argument go on to conclude that what is needed is a smaller, neater, less destructive weapon the potential use of which the Soviets would find credible — in a word, the neutron bomb.

This is the same argument that was made a number of years ago in favor of developing tactical nuclear weapons in the first place. It was said then that the big strategic bombs on Intercontinental ballistic missiles were so destructive that they would be useless in a ground war in Central Europe. And so they would not and could not induce them to go further. Surely this is common sense.

Miss G. M. Whitfield

Birmingham, England

Tehran, Iran

L. W. Corbett

Chicago, Ill.

But, it is argued, the Soviets may develop the neutron bomb even if the U.S. doesn't, and then where will it be? Well, it will be right where it is now — with enough power to blow the Soviets' (and everybody else's) off the face of the earth. That ought to be enough.

Nora of this is to argue that the U.S. ought to close its mind to the neutron bomb for ever and ever. It is only to argue that a persuasive case for it has not yet been made. After all, the idea for such a bomb has been kicking around in some of the more esoteric scientific circles for a good 20 years. The need for it seems no more urgent now than it was then.

Although the neutron bomb is sometimes presented as a mere refinement of weapons already in the American inventory, it would in fact be fairly radical departure. Before the U.S. absently backs into such a departure, its implications, particularly for U.S. non-proliferation policy, ought to be considered more fully than they have been thus far.

The argument is based on the premise that

NATO is unarmed and outgunned in conventional weapons by the European forces of the Warsaw Pact. Therefore, the argument goes, the Soviet Union, if it were of a mind to do so, could overrun Western Europe unless NATO resorted to tactical weapons, of which there are about 7,000 in the area. But these are

anyway, a great deal of effort went into developing smaller nuclear weapons, but these are now found by proponents of the neutron bomb to be too destructive. One might take

Mr. Holt is former chief of staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.